Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/n28journalofsoci00ameruoft

LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY
DISCARDED

65129

Legislative Library Ontario. Dept.

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Legislative Library Ontario. Dept.

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXVIII.

OCTOBER, 1891

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1891

PAPERS ON LABOR ORGANIZATION, HYDROPHOBIA, POPULATION, ETC.

Legislative Library Ontario. Dept.

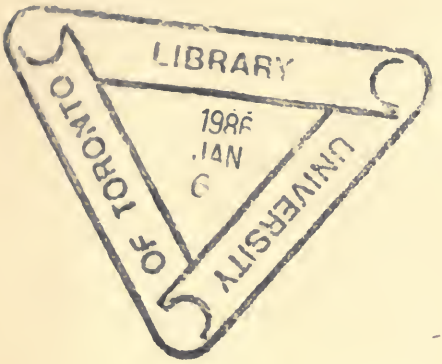
Legislative Library Ontario. Dept.

PUBLISHED FOR THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK

1891



H
1
J683
no 28-30

EDITED BY

F. B. SANBORN

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

CONCORD, MASS.

Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
General Meeting of 1891	v–vii
Malthus and the Law of Population. M. Levasseur	ix–xxiv
Rufus King. F. B. Sanborn	xxv–xxviii
Addresses of President White	1–20, 23–27
I. Labor Organization Papers	28–125
1. Practical Suggestions on Trades-unions. S. M. Hotchkiss	28–39
2. Aims, Methods, and Achievements of Trades-unions. S. Gompers	40–47
3. Trades-unions and Wages. Prof. Jenks	48–58
4. Shoemaking in Connecticut. F. J. Kingsbury	59–65
5. Voluntary Arbitration. Mrs. C. R. Lowell	66–85
6. Compulsory Arbitration. S. Dexter	86–100
7. Social Influence of Labor Organizations. George Gunton	101–107
8. Trades-unions and Apprentices. Prof. E. W. Bemis	108–123
9. Letter from Col. R. T. Auchmuty	124–125
II. Miscellaneous Papers	127–174
1. The Treatment of Hydrophobia. Dr. Paul Gibier	127–136
2. The Silver Question. J. DeWitt Warner	137–154
3. Civil Service Reform. W. D. Foulke	155–174
Constitution, List of Officers, Members, and Department Committees	175–188

INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are about half of the Saratoga papers of 1891. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the addresses and papers at the meeting of 1890 is printed on pages v–vii. Those belonging to the Departments of Education and Health are withheld for the present.

The Papers on the Labor Organization are here printed in full, but the debate was not reported, and cannot be given.

A small special edition of these Papers is published by the Association, and may be ordered of the Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass., at 30 cents the single copy, $13 for fifty copies, and $25 per hundred.

CONCORD, MASS., Nov. 1, 1891.

GENERAL MEETING OF 1891.

The General Meeting of 1891 was held in Saratoga, beginning Monday, August 31, and closing Friday, September 4.

The opening Address was given by the retiring President, A. D. White, LL.D., of Ithaca, N.Y., Monday evening, August 31. On the same evening the Report of the General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., was presented; and an important communication from M. Levasseur, of the French Institute, on "*Malthus and the Laws of Increasing Population.*"

The Departments held sessions as follows: —

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

Department of Education.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Secretary, Walter Channing, M.D., of Brookline, Mass., on "*The Physical Education of Children.*"

10.30 A.M. A Paper on "*The New Education,*" by H. L. Wayland, D.D., of Philadelphia.

11.30 A.M. A letter from the Chairman of the Department, Dr. E. M. Gallaudet, of Washington, D.C., on "*The Education of the Deaf in Europe,*" followed by remarks on the same subject, applicable to America, by F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass.

12.30 P.M. A Paper on "*Summer Camps for Boys,*" by Winthrop T. Talbot, M.D., of Boston.

8.00 P.M. An Address by Edward M. Hartwell, M.D., of Boston, on "*Physical Education at Home and Abroad,*" with Stereopticon Illustrations.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

Department of Social Economy.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman and Secretary of the Department, on the "*Organization of Labor.*"

10.00 A.M. A Paper on "*The Possibilities of Trades-unions,*" by Prof. J. W. JENKS, of Cornell University.

10.30 A.M. A Paper on "*Trades-unions, their Achievements, Methods, and Aims,*" by SAMUEL GOMPERS, of New York.

11.00 A.M. A Paper on "*The Relation of Trades-unions to Apprentices,*" by Prof. EDWARD W. BEMIS, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

12.00 M. A Paper by F. J. KINGSBURY, Esq., of Waterbury, Ct., on "*Shoemaking in Connecticut,*" followed by Mrs. C. R. LOWELL, of New York, with Paper on "*Arbitration.*"

In the afternoon, at 4 o'clock, there was a discussion on "*Shorter Hours of Labor,*" in which, with some of the above speakers, P. J. MCGUIRE, of Philadelphia, and others took part.

8.00 P.M. An Address by GEORGE GUNTON, Esq., of New York, on "*The Economic and Social Aspect of Labor Organizations and the Right Attitude of the Community toward them.*"

9.00 P.M. A Paper by SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, Esq., of Hartford, Ct., "*Practical Suggestions on Labor Organization.*"

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Department of Jurisprudence.

10.00 A.M. A Paper on "*Compulsory Arbitration,*" by Hon. SEYMOUR DEXTER, of Elmira, N.Y.

11.00 A.M. A Paper on "*Civil Service Reform,*" by WILLIAM D. FOULKE, Esq., of Richmond, Ind.

12.00 M. A Paper, "*Should Convictions be had upon Pleas of Guilty?*" by GOODWIN BROWN, Esq., of Albany, N.Y.

8.00 P.M. Annual Election of Officers.

8.30 P.M. A Paper on "*The New Italian Penal Code,*" by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Esq., of New York, followed by a Debate.

Department of Finance.

A Special Session was held at 4 P.M. Thursday, September 3, to receive the Papers of the Finance Department, namely: on "*Natural Taxation*," by T. G. SHEARMAN; on "*The Silver Question*," by Hon. JOHN DE WITT WARNER, M.C., of New York City.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

Department of Health.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Secretary of the Department on "*State Care of Epileptics*," followed by a letter from Dr. PETERSON.

10.30 A.M. A Paper on "*Teachings of Recent Investigations into the Causation of Insanity*," by CHARLES E. ATWOOD, M.D., of the State Hospital, Utica, N.Y.

11.00 A.M. A Paper, "*Spiritualism and Hypnotism*," by FRANCES EMILY WHITE, M.D., of the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia.

12.00 M. A Paper on the "*Organization and Work of the New York City Health Board*," by CYRUS EDSON, M.D., of New York City.

8.00 P.M. An Address, with Stereopticon Illustrations, on "*Recent Studies regarding the Nature and Treatment of Hydrophobia*," by PAUL GIBIER, M.D., Director of the Pasteur Institute, New York.

A selection has been made from these Addresses and Papers for present publication, including all those on Labor Organization, and the valuable Essay of M. LEVASSEUR, which immediately follows.

MALTHUS AND THE LAWS OF INCREASING POPULATION.*

BY EMIL LEVASSEUR,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, PROFESSOR AT THE COLLEGE OF FRANCE, AND IN THE CONSERVATORY OF ARTS AND TRADES, PARIS.

[Read Aug. 31, 1891.]

Malthus and his Work.— The laws of population cannot be discussed without mentioning the theory to which Malthus has attached his name,—a name which is cited more frequently than the works of this author are read. I propose to discuss them; but first, to judge better of him and what he wrote, we must consider both in relation to their time and their country.

Malthus was a clergyman. He was thirty-two years old when, in 1798, he wrote his first essay on Population, in reply to an article wherein William Godwin charged the rich with aggravating the wretchedness of the poor by their own selfishness. This article was published in the *Inquirer*, which Godwin edited, and was called "An Essay on Avarice and Prodigality." Being persuaded of the truth and importance of the principle which he had formulated, Malthus undertook to fortify it by proofs. With this aim he made patient researches in statistics, and published, five years later, a quarto volume, of which his first essay was the nucleus.† This essay, which had already obtained success, was

*This paper is taken from the third volume of "La Population Française," an important work soon to be published in Paris by Arthur Rousseau, 14 Rue Soufflot.

† In his preface to the edition of 1803 Malthus says: "The first edition of this book appeared in 1798. It was suggested by a paper in Mr. Godwin's *Inquirer*. It was written on the impulse of the occasion, and from the few materials which were within my reach in a country situation. In the course of the discussion I was naturally led into some examination of the effects of this principle on the existing state of society. It appeared to account for much of that poverty and misery observable among the lower classes of people in every nation, and for those reiterated failures in the efforts of the higher classes to relieve them. The more I considered the subject in this point of view, the more importance it seemed to acquire; and this consideration, joined to the degree of public attention which the Essay excited, determined me to turn my leisure reading towards an historical examination of the effects of the Principle of Population on the past and present state of society. In the course of this inquiry I found that much more had been done than I had been aware of. Much, however, remained yet to be done. Independently of the comparison between the increase of population and food, which had not perhaps been stated with sufficient force and precision, some of the most curious and interesting parts of the subject had been wholly omitted or treated very slightly. Though it had been stated distinctly that population must always be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence, yet few inquiries had been made into the various modes by which this level is effected."

still more successful in its new form; and the author, in 1817, had the satisfaction of publishing a fifth edition. He added notes every time, dissertations, also, and appendices, and thus enlarged his volume, without taking the trouble to blend together in due proportion the parts of the work, so that it lacks the merit of a well-arranged treatise, and is not easy to read.

The Two Ratios of Malthus.— It may be said that the first chapter of this book contains the author's whole doctrine, and that the remainder is only a long appendix made up of commentaries and corollaries. Among the causes which have checked the increase of population and the advancement of human happiness, Malthus reckons at the outset "the constant tendency manifested by all living creatures to increase their kind beyond the amount of subsistence which is within their reach." From the example of North America, he thinks himself justified in stating this proposition: "We may take it for granted that, unless the population is checked by some obstacle, it will go on doubling every twenty-five years, and will increase from period to period in a geometric ratio." Although he says it is not so easy to determine the rate of increase for the fruits of the earth: he declares that the means of subsistence in circumstances most favorable to industry can never increase faster than an arithmetical ratio. He then brings these two propositions together: "Let us estimate at a thousand millions the population of the earth: the human race would then increase according to the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; while the means of subsistence would increase in the ratio 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. At the end of two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; at the end of three centuries, as 4,096 to 13; and after two thousand years the disproportion would be immense, and practically incalculable." He does not suppose that the increase of food can be prolonged indefinitely; but, even admitting that hypothesis, he concludes that a superior law must check the progress of population, in order to maintain the due relation between men and food, and that cruel Necessity subjects it to her control.*

* In the edition of 1803, he had been still more heartless in the expression of this opinion, for he had written somewhere: "A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labor, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At Nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders if he do not work upon the compassion of some of her guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear, demanding the same favor. The report of a provision for all that come fills the hall with

The second chapter of Malthus is devoted to the consideration of his twofold check on population,— the "preventive" and the "positive" check. The first is voluntary, and springs from the sentiment of prudence which separates man from the beasts,— admirable when it is called chastity, or "moral restraint," and prevents a man from yielding to the desire of founding a family which he has not the means of maintaining; detestable when it springs from vice and profligacy. The positive, or destructive, check — which means famine, pestilence, war, or extreme poverty — is always an evil for mankind. He thus sums up his conclusions: —

1. Population is of necessity limited by the means of subsistence.

2. It invariably increases everywhere as these means increase, unless powerful and obvious checks arrest it.

3. These special checks, and those which, obstructing the prevailing tendency, force down the population to the level of subsistence, can all be reduced to three heads,— moral restraint, vice, and calamity.

The rest of the first book and the whole of the second contain examples going to show the way in which Nature or mankind has checked this progress in the least civilized parts of the world in former times, and in the different countries of Europe of late. These were the proofs of the hypothesis; but, at the time Malthus wrote, both the social economy of savage nations was less known than in our day and statistics of population were just beginning among civilized nations. Captain Cook's voyages in Oceanica and the accounts of the American Indians furnished him examples of the miserable life led by savages incapable of tilling the earth; but they did not give him the ratio of their mortality. Among all these savage nations in America, Oceanica, or Africa, Malthus shows that hunting and fishing do not procure food enough,— that population is limited by famine, by almost constant fighting, by the wretched condition of women, by immorality, pestilence, cannibalism, and slavery. Among the Moslems he specifies polygamy, and in Thibet polyandry.

Hardly anywhere in Europe, when Malthus began to write, except in the Scandinavian countries, were there statistics containing any series of demographic facts. He made use of such as he

numerous claimants. The order and harmony of the feast is disturbed, and the happiness of the guests is destroyed," etc. His opponents having reproached him for these phrases, he suppressed them in succeeding editions; but this did not hinder other opponents from still throwing them at his head.

found, made use also of Süssmilch and of Necker; but he does not seem to have known the works of Deparcieux and Moheau, and in the successive editions of his book he never consulted the French Census of 1806. Some facts which he cites as arguments, and which belong to the eighteenth century, no longer exist in our time, and were risky to mention in 1800. He says, for example, "In France the tendency to increase is so strong, and the want of prudence among the lower classes so striking," etc.; "marriages in England are later than in France." As here, Malthus forms conclusions sometimes upon insufficient evidence, which are contradicted by the actual facts. Thus he says that there had always been in France an adult population disproportionately small, and that marriages are delayed in England. The population of Sweden having increased from 2,219,000 in 1751 to 3,043,000 in 1799, and its condition having grown no worse, Malthus infers an increase of food. He reckons also on a certain increase in Norway; and he regards military service and the great number of servants as obstacles to a more rapid increase.

Now, the reader has a right to demand from him precise and decisive proofs; for it is not only a tendency of the human race to multiply, which he indicates, but a mathematical ratio that he means to fix. He comes back again and again to this question. "It is the basis of all my theory," he says. Though he may admit that he sometimes exaggerated the evil in order to show the danger more clearly, he never gave up his antithesis of the two ratios, in which he had complete faith. It was his commentators who afterwards weakened the expression of his formula for the sake of disarming criticism.

Insufficiency of the Remedies for Excessive Population, according to Malthus.— Relying on his principle, Malthus demonstrates the folly of levelling systems, like that of Robert Owen, who supposed that he could abolish poverty by distributing fortunes or by guaranteeing to every person in the community a subsistence. He was entirely right in this respect, for social institutions which enable men to dispense with prudence are likely to aggravate the poverty which they seek to abolish. Without increasing the aggregate of wealth, they invite an indefinite number of persons to take their share *gratis;* and they blunt the stimulus of necessity, which now forces the idle multitude to work and increase wealth. As for the Utopian equalization of circumstances by the Poor Laws, Malthus saw in them only a difference of degree.

The fundamental error, he said, is the same; and he wrote specially to refute that. He does not dissuade from private charity, but he thinks that all indiscriminate charity,— above all, legal charity,— is prejudicial to a nation's prosperity, because it maintains and multiplies the poor; * and, by encouraging births in the destitute classes, it condemns generation after generation to live in the same environment, while the public impoverishes itself to support them.

Malthus in this passage [see note] seems to consider only England and her Poor Law, as it was administered in his time; and he speaks of the parish poor with a certain harshness, not without philosophic dignity, however, since it springs from lively sentiment of personal responsibility. We might reply that, considering the general laws of population, to diminish the number of marriages of the poorer class would only slightly reduce the growth of a population like that of France, and would be likely to increase the illegitimate births. Almost all the husbands hope to be able to support their families, although this hope is sometimes disappointed by the casualties of life, which produce a considerable part of the actual pauperism. Malthus censures inducements to marriage, but elsewhere he declares that he never wished for a law to prevent the poor from marrying. All that he desires is the gradual abolition of the Poor Laws. "I am persuaded," he says, "that, if we never had a poor law in England, though there would perhaps have been a few cases added to those which suffer the greatest poverty, the aggregate of happiness would have been greater among our people than it is now." In another place he says, "During the wars of Napoleon wages were much higher where there was the least parish assistance."

As will be seen presently, Malthus believed, like the English school of his time, that wages are fixed by the relation between the number of laborers and the wages-fund; that is, the capital reserved to pay the laborers. He thought that, if capital is

* "After the system of poor laws had ceased with regard to the rising generation, if any man chose to marry, without a prospect of being able to support a family, he should have the most perfect liberty to do so. Though to marry, in this case, is in my opinion clearly an immoral act, yet it is not one which society can justly take upon itself to prevent or punish, because the punishment provided for it by the laws of nature falls directly and most severely upon the individual who commits the act, and through him, only more remotely and feebly, on the society. To the punishment, therefore, of nature he should be left,— the punishment of want. He has erred in the face of a most clear and precise warning, and can have no just reason to complain of any person but himself, when he feels the consequences of his error. All parish assistance should be denied him; and, if the hand of private charity be stretched forth in his relief, the interests of humanity imperiously require that it should be administered sparingly."

employed wholly or mainly in producing food (agricultural labor), the situation of the laborer is good for a while; but, if this capital is wholly devoted to manufactures, there is a nominal increase of wages without any real advantage, because food grows dearer, and so the condition of the laborer is bad. Moreover, that the abundance of food is only a temporary advantage, because the population hastens to increase in the same proportion. Hence there is no considerable improvement except that produced by a definite change in the desire of the working class for greater comfort. "Almost everything," he says, "that has hitherto been done to relieve the poor has tended to darken the subject and to conceal from the unfortunate the true cause of their poverty. While a laborer's wages are hardly sufficient to support two children, he marries and has five or six to maintain. Since we have ascertained that by increasing the number of laborers we have only aggravated the malady of pauperism, I should like to see trial made of a plan to diminish their number." He warns England of the danger which threatens her on this side. He does not think her seriously injured yet, for his national pride makes him say more than once that his own country is in a better situation than the countries on the continent. But, inasmuch as he feels great compassion for the laboring class and the poor (his ill-natured critics have very unjustly ascribed contrary feelings to him), he wishes to see their wages raised. Consequently, he urges them not to produce a disastrous competition among themselves by a too rapid increase of their number. He does not censure emigration; but he looks upon it as a mere palliative of slight effect and short duration, because, if the imprudence continues, births will come in to fill the void left by emigration.* He does not show much sympathy for the colonies, whose beginnings he dwells upon as always full of hardship.

Malthus does not find fault with the importation of corn,—that is a legitimate consequence of the freedom of labor; but he be-

*Nevertheless, he would not impede emigration. "It is not only strikingly unjust, but in the highest degree impolitic, in a government to prevent emigration; for that is to keep wages low in the whole laboring class." Speaking of the emigration to American colonies before the Revolution, he says: "But I would ask whether, even during these periods, the distress among the common people was little or nothing, and whether every man felt secure before he ventured on marriage that, however large his family might be, he should find no difficulty in supporting it without parish assistance. The answer I fear, could not be in the affirmative." And farther on he sums up, "It is clear, therefore, that, with any view of making room for an unrestricted increase of population, emigration is perfectly inadequate; but, as a partial and temporary expedient, and with a view to the wider spread civilization and the more general cultivation of the earth, it seems to be both useful and proper."

lieves it to be of slight importance for the public food supply. Doubtless he would have spoken differently if he had foreseen the progress of steam navigation. He even considers imported wheat dangerous to the economic condition of a people like those of Venice or Amsterdam, who draw their food supply from abroad, and are therefore exposed to calamity when the currents of commerce alter. In this he is not wholly wrong. But one must not judge of a country like England as if it were a single town. He does not warmly favor small holdings, for he sees in them an encouragement for the thoughtless increase of population. Nowadays, however, a school of philanthropists declare against the subdivision of property in France, as being an obstacle to the increase of population. These contradictory opinions are neither of them, one more than the other, supported by facts.

Such remedies being insufficient and such being the state of things in his time, Malthus says that epidemics are needful. He would not be averse to the opinion of Proudhon,— that war is a blessing, because it is among the designs of Providence that men should kill each other rather than encumber the earth. To escape this fatality, however, he recommends "moral restraint." He would not have mankind carried away like a drop of water in a stream. Let man react against fate by his free will and by virtue. Let him marry late, unless he has the means of bringing up children. We may well praise the sentiment of dignity and personal responsibility which inspires this proposition, but it may be doubted that it would be efficacious.

Predecessors of Malthus and his Law.— If Malthus had been content to say that men need food to sustain life, and that every population is of necessity limited by the food supply which tillage produces or commerce brings in, he would have declared an undisputed truth often set forth; but it would not have had the point, and probably not the loud applause, of the Malthusian antithesis. The idea was far from novel. In the old Greek republics, whose territory was very small, philosophers had dealt with the excess of population. Plato, both in his "Laws" and in his "Republic," declared for a stationary population. [Here M. Levasseur quotes from the "Republic" the well-known passage in respect to marriage, children, and the exposure of infants.] In his "Laws," which he thinks better accommodated to the habits of his time than the "Republic," although he seems to give up provisionally the community of wives, he is still explicit in favor

of limiting the number of children. He sketches out a model city, composed of 5,040 parts. "The number of households must be always the same, and we cannot permit them to be increased or diminished. Now, in order to have this rule constantly observed in the whole city, every head of a family shall select as heir to the portion which has fallen to him only one of his children, whichever he shall choose. There are several ways of procuring this uniformity. But, if it were impossible to keep down the number to 5,040 families, and if the marriages produced too many citizens, it would be always permitted to send away the surplus and establish them in some other place."

Aristotle is equally determined to check all excess of population. "We must not forget," he says (in the fourth book of his "Politics"), "that, if we fix the amount of fortunes, we must also fix the number of children; for, if this is not always kept in due proportion to property, it will be needful to break the law, and, even without going that far, it is dangerous to have so many citizens sinking from comfort to poverty, since it would be difficult in that case to check their desire for a change of government."

In a decree of Henry IV., about the draining of fens (April 8, 1599), we read, "The strength and the wealth of kings and sovereign princes reside in the opulence and the number of their subjects." Locke, Vauban, Mirabeau, and others held this opinion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and Bishop Berkeley said, "The number of people is both means and motive to industry." And, while these writers understood the necessity of providing more food for a greater number of mouths, they held that in most cases every adult would be capable of producing by his labor the wealth on which he must live. "In every place where two persons can live comfortably," said Montesquieu, in his "Spirit of the Laws," "a marriage takes place. Nature looks out for that, unless she is checked by the difficulty of subsistence." Six years afterwards Mirabeau wrote, in his "Friend of Man," "The limit of subsistence is that of population: men multiply like rats, if they have the means of support."

Sir J. Steuart, in his "Researches concerning the Principles of Political Economy," published in 1767, but without finding many readers, spoke to the same effect: "A people can no more be prevented from increasing than a tree from growing. But food is needful for life; and, as every kind of growth has a limit, it is here that population finds its limit." The father of modern political

economy, Adam Smith, did not meet the problem of population squarely. He went no further than to say, speaking of wages: "Naturally, all kinds of animals multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence, and none can ever increase beyond that. But in civilized communities it is only in the lower classes that the lack of food can put limits to the increase of the species; and that can only happen in one way,—by the death of a majority of the children who are born among this class of the people." Malthus did not fail to recognize that he had predecessors; but it was his merit to have drawn attention from men of science to this problem, and to have made it definitely a fundamental question in political economy. This is something not to be overlooked.

Liberal Opinions of Malthus.— This is not the only debt which political economy owes to him. He found public opinion, in spite of some protests, favoring the increase of population, and the measures which seemed proper to stimulate it. He disputed this strenuously, and succeeded in turning the current for a while, or at least in dividing it. He had taken up the pen to reply to Godwin, who ascribed the woes of mankind to rich men and to the social body. He objected with great good sense to this doctrine, assigning to each man the responsibility of his own action.

"The great error under which Mr. Godwin labors throughout his whole work is the attributing of almost all the vices and misery that prevail in civil society to human institutions. But the truth is that, though human institutions appear to be the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to mankind, they are, in reality, light and superficial in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature and the passions of men." Enlightened by Adam Smith, Malthus opposed the abuses of State interference (as in the Poor Law) and the chimeras of communistic systems, like those of Godwin himself and of Owen. Being persuaded that man makes his own destiny, he was strictly liberal, and applied himself to show up the folly or the danger of systems which are not so. It is especially in this that he has won the favor of economists and the disfavor of socialists. Both are correct in recognizing him as a master or pointing him out as a dangerous opponent; and this law of Malthus has been accepted or resisted more, perhaps, from sentiment than from an exact examination of its propositions. Although the advice he gives is excellent to show the disadvantages of inconsiderate charity or of too great a population of the wretched poor, it hardly constitutes a scientific law.

The Two Propositions of Malthus, and his Moral Restraint criticised.— What constitutes the law of Malthus, and is original with him, is the antithesis of the two ratios,— that of the number of men and of the amount of food supply. Now, it is precisely this antithesis which the experience of recent times has not verified. Let us look in turn at these two propositions. In the first place, the general law of productiveness in nature does not correspond to Malthus's law. The animals which furnish food for man are all more prolific than man; and the plants, in general, produce more fruit than the animals bear young. We may say that Providence, looking to the perpetuation of the species, has multiplied the means of reproducing its creatures all the more liberally when that species was of inferior organization and its germs were exposed to greater risk of destruction. The fish, which does not hatch its own eggs, and whose fry is the prey of voracious foes, lays many more eggs than the hen who takes care of her chickens; and the hen, in turn, lays more eggs and raises more brood in a year than the sheep raises lambs, or the cow calves. The acorns of an oak-tree would plant a whole forest in a few years if the greater part were not eaten or in other ways failed to grow. It is not germs that Nature lacks: it is the means of bringing them to fruition. Malthus was not ignorant of this law. He would have replied that, since these means are lacking and many germs are fated to be destroyed, it is important mankind should be able by prudence and foresight to avoid the consequences of this harsh appointment of Nature.

Well, then, did Malthus ever see the human race multiply in geometric progression? He cites the United States,— a new country to which colonists flocked, supplied with all the resources of an old civilization, to avail themselves of an immense territory, where the increased population is the combined result of immigration and the fertility of the soil. The population of Europe, rising since 1800 from 175 to 360 millions, has only doubled. The fact, then, did not justify his hypothesis.

The arithmetical progression of the means of sustenance has no better basis than the geometric ratio of increasing population. Indeed, if we examine the proposition, it has no exact meaning. In what length of time does production, which was 1, become 2, then 3, then 4? Is it in the same period that the population becomes 2, 4, 8? But there exists no population, nor could any exist, where 8 inhabitants would have only 4 rations. Such a break be-

tween supply and demand might perhaps happen in a year of terrible famine; but it is nowhere a permanent condition. In France, in 1820, 32 millions of people gathered 50 million hectolitres of wheat; and to-day 38¼ millions are gathering more than 100 million hectolitres (109 million is the average of the period from 1880 to 1889).

In order that population should double in each generation,— that is, in a period of 33 years,— we must suppose that every adult, without exception, marries, and that every couple has an average of seven children. In fact, taking France as an example, the survival table of the French statistics from 1877 to 1881 shows that, among 1,000 births of each sex, the survivors at 30 years old are 602 men and 626 women. Hence it results that seven births would furnish at 30 years old about 4.3 survivors, and this number would be necessary to double our population in a single generation. Now, the science of demography has taught us that adults do not all marry, and that in the countries where the birth-rate is the highest it is far from reaching seven children for each marriage. That would imply the exorbitant rate of 60 births to every 1,000 inhabitants; for, with a marriage-rate of 8 in the 1,000, seven births to each marriage would give only fifty-six births per thousand. The experience of all Europe, which for thirty years past shows a birth-rate of about 38 per thousand and a yearly increase of about 1 per cent., does not confirm in this respect the hypothesis of Malthus.

He might have objected, "The Europeans are practising the moral restraint which I recommend"; but what proof could he furnish? For it is without much effort, by the mere effect of natural and social laws, that each population in a given time keeps up much the same demographic movement, in spite of casual disturbances which accident now and then produces. The Slavs, for example, have now a higher birth-rate than the French, though they are not so rich: their poverty does not keep them from increasing fast. Bad years occur in their annals as in ours; but you may look in vain for the third Malthusian phase,— that wherein extreme poverty, violently cutting off the surplus, re-establishes an equilibrium by diminishing the number of the people. That effect has only been seen in Ireland, where it may be ascribed in part to "moral restraint," but in greater part to emigration, that there are so few marriages. Is there more moral restraint in France than in other countries that have more births?

We can hardly maintain that; nor that there is more vice, since the French marriage-rate is not perceptibly below the European average. Are the French more virtuous than in the eighteenth century, because they have fewer children? Are they in greater poverty and less able to maintain large families? No, for the death-rate is low in France. But they have a higher standard of comfort; and they wish to increase it by limiting their expenses.

The second proposition of Malthus, then, does not meet the test of fact. We must look on this fatal tendency of mankind to multiply, unless checked by misfortune or restrained by virtue, as the dream of a *doctrinaire*. This does not mean that his propositions have no basis in truth: we know the effect of famines, wars, diseases, momentary crises. But we know, on the other hand, that population, instead of getting rid of a surplus by these scourges, has an opposite tendency to fill promptly in succeeding years the gaps which these have made, and that in virtue of the law of compensation.

Malthus treated as a fatal law the divergence, actual or virtual, of his two ratios,— one swift, the other slow. This is not an actual fatality. Different nations have very different rates of increase. Those which have doubled in one generation are few, and they owe this advantage to special and temporary conditions; while at the same time their wealth has actually more than doubled. It is hard to understand what is meant, in the moral order of things, by "virtual fatality." If the result has not appeared, then the sequence was not fated. The instinct of reproduction impels, but the instinct of self-preservation and of comfort holds back. The latter is just as natural to man as the former: a being of free will chooses his course, and is responsible for his own destiny; and to this proposition Malthus would have assented.

Experimental Laws of Increasing Population.— The laws of population cannot be included in a single formula. Let us try to express the most important in these propositions: —

1. At all times and everywhere the food supply produced on the soil or acquired by trade sets the limit of population. This formula cannot be disputed. It contains a part of the truth — rather a trite truth — which is seen in the law of Malthus; but we may add it is impossible to give this the exactness of a mathematical rule. It is possible, however, to be a little more exact.

2. This limit varies much according to the amount of wealth produced by the population and the average or individual con-

sumption; that is to say, when the population produces more food or articles of commerce, it can support more persons on the same soil, but, when each consumes more, the number that can be maintained with the same product is less.

3. Population has a tendency to increase by births, and also a tendency to create wealth; but which of the two is naturally stronger we cannot say. When the first tendency prevails, the people grow poor, and it is the poorest who suffer. When the second is stronger, the standard of comfort rises.

4. In a country of rich soil, or with peculiar advantages, such as a coal mine or a good harbor, the population can be greater than on a sterile soil. Thus rich valleys, fertile plains, coal basins, water power, etc., are conditions favorable to a dense population.

5. In a country where the production of wealth calls for more hands than elsewhere,— for instance, in a land of vineyards compared with a pastoral region,— the population should be greater.

6. In a country where men are industrious and intelligent, the production of wealth being greater than in a country where they are not so, the population can be greater.

7. In a country where the aggregate capital is more, and can pay for more labor than elsewhere, population can be more numerous.

8. In a country where science has furnished industry with processes for creating wealth in more abundance and with less effort, population can be greater than in countries of less advanced civilization.

9. In a country where the standard of comfort is rising, and consequently the average consumption is growing greater, population ought to increase more slowly, if the production of wealth does not increase.

10. In new countries, where the land to be cleared up is practically unlimited, population can increase very fast. The product of wheat in the United States, of mutton and wheat in Australia and La Plata, prove that subsistence multiplies there sometimes much faster than population, because, besides supporting themselves, the people have a great deal to export.

11. In old countries a great return to the farmer is only obtained by expending more capital and labor than in new countries. But manufactures do not encounter the same obstacles; and so the inhabitants can procure by commerce the means of living in comfort, while increasing their number, as in England and the other nations of Central and Western Europe.

12. A defective social organization and a vexatious policy in government may hinder the progress of population. A bad government has more influence in retarding growth than a good one has in hastening it. In this way, births, marriages, and deaths are affected by economic or political crises.

13. Inequality of social condition may be an obstacle to the growth of population, because it may check the cultivation of food plants. This happens when large land-owners reserve a vast extent of wood or pasture land for the amusement of hunting, or when they sell for export the grain produced on their land.

14. Population grows (setting aside immigration) by the excess of births over deaths, which may occur in three ways,— by an increase of births, a decrease of deaths, or by both together. The mean age of the whole people falls when both increase: it rises when deaths diminish. This second condition is much preferable to the first; the third, perhaps, still more advantageous, if the level of wealth rises proportionately.

15. In the present state of the world, population increases in all civilized countries every year, save a few unfortunate years, because there are more births than deaths. The rate of increase varies from 1 to 10 and more, in different countries. These diversities are caused, not only by the natural qualities of the soil and the degree of wealth among the people, but also by something special in their habits.

16. The birth-rate and the death-rate are ordinarily higher in the lower classes than in the middle and upper classes. Malthus was thinking of the lower classes when he wrote his essay; and to them should be addressed his good advice, not to give birth to an excessive number of children, so as to lose less of them, and not to increase their poverty.

17. Emigration and immigration help to re-establish an equilibrium of population, especially since communication between countries has become easy. They do this by sending out of a country the surplus people whom its wealth will not maintain comfortably, and by carrying this surplus to countries which need labor to utilize fully their wealth or their capital. This equilibrium may be compared to that of liquids in vessels that communicate with each other.

These laws of population, or, to be more exact, these rules and observations, may be summed up by saying that the increase of any population is subordinated to the sum of its means of subsist-

ence and the sum of its necessities. Consequently, between the three terms, "population," "production," "consumption," close relations exist. If this relation were invariable, each man producing, receiving, and consuming at the same time the very same amount of wealth, the equilibrium would not be disturbed, and the condition of mankind would be uniform and unvarying. We might be anxious, then, about the people in a political point of view; but we should never think of raising economic questions. But the relation is not invariable; and this is one reason why, in any population, rich people and poor people are found. This is why whole populations are either rich or poor, some one and some the other; it is why peoples and individuals can grow rich or poor; and why, consequently, the number of inhabitants in a country may grow rapidly or slowly, may remain stationary or decline.

To sum up finally, the number of inhabitants suitable for every territory depends: —

1. On the natural quality of the soil and the climate. Hence the polar regions are uninhabited.

2. On the amount of capital, the state of industrial science, and the industrial activity of the population. All these augment the productive power of labor; and, therefore, Western Europe is better peopled than tropical Africa.

3. The extent of the outlets which permit the exchange of manufactures for food products from abroad. For this reason England and Belgium can have a denser population than Spain.

4. On the average of individual consumption, which allows the support of more men from a fixed quantity of products, as it falls below some ordinary standard. Thus the valley of the Ganges can be more densely peopled than France. For this reason the raising of the standard of comfort for the multitude — one of the most desirable forms of economic advance — may result in retarding the growth of a population; and, in any case, it calls for a greater aggregate of wealth to maintain the same number of men.

General Note.— M. Levasseur has made many citations from Malthus and his successors which the translator has omitted, as not necessary to the restricted purpose of this essay. It may be well to say, however, that he cites J. B. Say, Hegewisch (the German translator of Malthus), Joseph de Maistre, Rossi, J. S. Mill, Joseph Garnier, Maurice Block, Roscher, and Courcelle-Seneuil as in the main siding with Malthus, though several of them doubt the exactness of his formula. "With a few exceptions," says

M. Levasseur, "the economists who adopt the law of Malthus simply say that population has a natural tendency to increase faster than wealth, without adhering to the exact terms of his antithesis. Nor have most of his adversaries stopped to discuss those terms. The term 'Malthusianism' has been invented to designate a doctrine which, on the one hand, taught mankind not to marry without serious reflection, and to have only that number of children which should accord with their means of subsistence and their desire for comfort, and, on the other hand, threatened those who should not follow this teaching with loss of children, starvation, and premature death. Further, it informed them that society was not responsible for their imprudence, and even remained indifferent to their sufferings,—all which could be inferred as consequent on Malthus's law, but was not the law itself. We may imagine how Malthusianism, thus set forth, stirred up against it many Catholic writers, who regarded it as a school of immorality and distrust of Providence. Almost all the socialists find fault with it, too, as proclaiming the fated necessity of poverty, and the inability of the State to make an equitable division of wealth; and they denounce it as the most hateful formula of individual selfishness." He quotes Malthus himself as saying, "I know very well that the surplus millions whom I have mentioned never have existed."

M. Levasseur further quotes from Godwin and Malthus as follows: "Mr. Godwin, at the conclusion of the third chapter of his eighth book on Political Justice, speaking of population, says, 'There is a principle in human society by which population is perpetually kept down to the level of the means of subsistence. Thus among the wandering tribes of America and Asia we never find, through the lapse of ages, that population has so increased as to render necessary the cultivation of the earth.' This principle which Mr. Godwin thus mentions as some mysterious and occult cause, and which he does not attempt to investigate, has appeared to be the grinding law of necessity,—misery, and the fear of misery. The question is, What is this principle? Is it some obscure and occult cause? Is it some mysterious interference of Heaven, which at a certain period strikes the men with impotence and the women with barrenness? Or is it a cause open to our researches, within our view,—a cause which has constantly been observed to operate, though with varied force, in every state in which man has been placed? Is it not misery and the fear of misery, the necessary and inevitable results of the laws of nature, which human institutions, so far from aggravating, have tended considerably to mitigate, though they can never remove?"

"Why," says M. Levasseur, "should Malthus seek 'in misery or the fear of misery' the explanation of a fact which the simple laws of nature and the customs of society are sufficient to explain? All the more may we ask this, since it is not in the most miserable classes that the number of children is the least: quite the contrary."

THE LATE RUFUS KING.

At the session of the Department of Jurisprudence on Thursday, Sept. 3, 1891, the Chairman of the Department, Professor WAYLAND, presiding, it was voted, upon the announcement of Mr. KING's death, that a brief memoir of him be prepared by the Secretary for the *Journal of Social Science*. In accordance with that vote, the following pages have been written.

The Hon. RUFUS KING was the son of Edward King, of Chillicothe, Ohio, where he was born, May 30, 1817; and he died at Cincinnati, where he had resided for half a century, March 25, 1891. His father was a son of the Hon. Rufus King, of New York, Senator in Congress, Minister to England, and the occupant of other high positions in the national government at the close of the last century. His mother was Sarah Worthington, a daughter of Thomas Worthington, who, coming from Virginia to Ohio before 1800, became one of the most prominent citizens, and was Governor of Ohio from 1814 to 1818. Mr. King was, therefore, of New England and Federalist ancestry on the paternal side and of Virginian and Democratic ancestry on his mother's side; and on both sides his ancestors were public-spirited and distinguished persons. His father, Edward King, was eloquent, vivacious, and popular, and practised law in Chillicothe with much success.

Rufus King's education was begun under Bishop Chase, the uncle of Chief Justice Chase, at Gambier, in Ohio, the seat of Kenyon College; but he was sent from that institution about 1836 to Harvard University, where he entered the class of the poet Lowell and the sculptor Story, and, like them, after graduating in 1838, he entered the Harvard Law School, under Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf, where he graduated with distinction in 1840. His class at Harvard, both in the college and the Law School, was distinguished for the talent of its members; and young King was one of the most prominent among them. He was associated with James Russell Lowell as editor of the lively college magazine, *Harvardiana*, and had, both then and afterward, a strong tendency toward literature. Returning to Ohio in 1841, Mr. King was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati; and, while waiting for practice, he studied political questions, and became a contributor to one of

the city newspapers, the *Evening Chronicle*, edited by Edward D. Mansfield. But he never aspired to political office, and after his marriage, in 1843, to Miss Margaret Rives, a daughter of Dr. Landon Rives, of Virginia, who had settled in Cincinnati, Mr. King devoted himself to domestic, professional, and social life. One of his biographers says of the period of his life from 1843 to 1868 : —

He resisted all temptation by the political parties of the day, which would gladly have given him any position in their gift, and for a quarter of a century he was known only as an honorable and successful practitioner at the bar. But in the very nature of things he could not escape preferment. He was offered the Supreme Judgeship of Ohio upon the resignation of Judge Gholson ; but this great honor, conferred by the Governor of the State, he also declined, preferring the duties and emoluments of his profession to any public distinction. But there was one phase of public life with which Mr. King fully and heartily identified himself,— public education. He loved it, and wrought zealously in its behalf. He recognized its immense importance to the Republic, and devoted many years to a thorough study of its institutions. This became known ; and in 1851 he was elected one of the trustees of the public schools in Cincinnati, and for over twenty years was continuously identified with them. Soon after his election Judge Bellamy Storer resigned the presidency of the School Board, and Mr. King was elected, and remained in that position till 1866.

Mr. King was largely instrumental in founding the Public Library. In short, he laid the foundation of that noble institution by turning to better account the law of 1853, establishing school libraries in Ohio. It was very defective, and was repealed ; but its provisions were so happily turned to account that Cincinnati became greatly benefited. This was owing to the wisdom and foresight of Mr. King, under whose guidance the libraries of the Mechanics' Institute and the school libraries were consolidated. The tax levy for support of the Public Library makes it one of the permanent institutions of the city. It is a monument to the sagacity and public spirit of Mr. King and his colleagues. When the library was inaugurated, Mr. King was chosen president of the Board of Managers, and served in that capacity many years. He was one of the incorporators of the Law Library of Cincinnati in 1847, and was the first president elected by the board in 1851. After serving one year, he remained a plain member until 1855, when he was re-elected, and has served continuously ever since,— a period of thirty-six years.

Having become independent in fortune, and continuing his strong interest in education, both popular and professional, he became one of the founders of the Cincinnati University. He was

elected president of its trustees in 1871, and made its first annual report to the Mayor of Cincinnati February, 1872. He was distinguished for profound knowledge of educational systems, and that sort of mental assimilation which brought out of his knowledge the best practical thing for the institution then under his care. "Here, as in the public schools, Mr. King scrupulously avoided cliques, combinations, compromises, and all entangling alliances. He directed his thought, words, and action to the main object in view,—university education for poor boys and girls of the city of Cincinnati."

Of late years his most important and valuable service to Cincinnati was rendered as a member of the Tax Commission, of which he was one of the original members. He was its wisest adviser, the member best posted not only in municipal law, but also upon city affairs as conducted and managed or mismanaged under the law. "In all these concerns he showed a keen insight and a broad comprehension. No principle was overlooked, no detail escaped his attention, in the work of apportioning to each of the city funds the money to which it was entitled from the tax levy for city salaries and expenses. Against false or dubious claims, exorbitant estimates, and all insidious 'incidentals,' as the official pickings and stealings were called, he always stood firm; and it was by just such sturdy resistance, always aided by his fellow-members of the board, that it came to be regarded as the safeguard of the city finances."

Such, in his relation to the city of his abode, was the member of our Association whose loss we deplore; and to such men, of public service and of private virtues, the work of Social Science most naturally falls in our country. Had he been ambitious of political honors he would not, for so many years, have cast in his lot with those who aspire to no political office, though ready to perform the duties of any station to which they may be called. His was the distinction, among a people who seek the emoluments as well as the honors of office, steadfastly to decline salaried positions, and to render that unpaid service to his fellow-citizens which our system in its perfection requires. He took part in our meetings at Cincinnati in 1878, and for many years in Saratoga, because he liked to hear what earnest thinkers had to say, and was ready to add his judicious and well-considered word. The ornament of the bar, he was no less the ornament of any assembly in which he took part,—a clear reasoner, a modest proposer of useful truth,

and a seconder of whatever was beneficial to the country and the world. He might have filled the stations to which his ancestors were called; for he was a senatorial person, and, as Horace said of his friend, and Milton of John Bradshaw, *consul non unius anni.* But he chose the more quiet path of liberal studies and professional eminence; and it was his delight to give the hospitality of his house and of his mind to those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, with Horatian ease and with Christian generosity. In all this he was happily seconded by the wife of his youth, who survives him, and to whom all who knew Mr. King accord that sympathy which is the best offering of human nature in such a bereavement.

F. B. S.

Concord, November 4, 1891.

INSTRUCTION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

OPENING ADDRESS AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF 1890.

BY ANDREW D. WHITE, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

A quarter of a century has now passed since the founding of the American Social Science Association. It was organized so modestly that very few people knew of it during the first three years of its existence; but those years were used with good effect, and its Albany meeting, in 1869, seemed to all of us who were present a remarkable success. Very vividly do I recall that gathering at Albany, when Henry Villard presented his view of the scope of the society, and Horace Greeley proposed his plan for popularizing its results. The public at large seemed indifferent: it is quite likely that the name *Social* Science created distrust.

May I be pardoned for a purely personal reminiscence? I give it because it serves to prove that this want of effect among the people was rather apparent than real, and to show how such an Association as ours is likely to affect the country at large.

Perhaps no one had more reason to listen intently to the papers read at this session than I had. During the four previous years, as a member of the Senate of the State of New York, I had had frequent occasion to regret want of knowledge in various departments of Social Science, not only in myself, but in most, if not in all, of my colleagues. As a member of the Committee on Municipal Affairs in that body, I was called to look carefully into the organization of various institutions,— charitable, penal, and educational; and in open Senate I had not unfrequently to take part in earnest discussion regarding the establishment and maintenance of such institutions, intended to meet the needs of a State embracing not far from five millions of inhabitants.

It had fallen to my lot to introduce a bill codifying the laws relating to public schools in the State, a bill for the incorporation of Cornell University,— an institution which was to embrace provision for instruction in applied science, then almost an entire novelty,— and to have much to do with the establishment of the Willard Asylum for the insane, which was to become by far the largest in the State, and one of the most important in the world.

By each of these measures I was led through unaccustomed fields, and over seas of doubt, upon which there was little to guide. Frequently, indeed, there was neither chart nor compass.

This experience showed me that in the establishment and maintenance of such institutions, while injury is frequently done by local, political, or sectarian bias on the part of legislators, the greatest injury, after all, is generally wrought by their ignorance of fundamental theory and of approved practice.

It was in view of this experience that I welcomed the early meetings of this Association. The papers read by Henry Villard, Goldwin Smith, and others who then came together in the little room at Albany, threw a new light upon the whole subject. Therefore it was that, at a very early day in the history of Cornell University, I urged my fellow-Trustees to establish a department, or at least a lectureship, which should do something toward training up young men for future usefulness in these fields, giving them a better knowledge of such subjects than legislators generally possess. My hope was that some of these young men, during their after career,—in the pulpit, through the press, on boards of educational and charitable institutions, Village Boards, County Boards, in City Councils, State and National Legislatures,—would turn their knowledge thus acquired to good account as regards the development and maintenance of State and local institutions for charity, correction, and education.

As soon as the funds of Cornell University permitted, this plan was carried out; and Mr. F. B. Sanborn, the first Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, was called to give the instruction required. In sketching out my plan to Mr. Sanborn, I had suggested, first, courses of lectures which should acquaint students with the problems to be solved, and with the best solutions of them yet obtained at home and abroad; and, next, I proposed that there should be something analogous to laboratory practice,—that is, that, under the guidance of the Professor, the students should visit the local and State institutions, especially those of a penal and charitable character, study them with care, report upon them, and discuss their reports in the class-room. Such investigation, study, report, and discussion would, I thought, interest them in such subjects, would lead them to observe carefully, to think upon their observations correctly, to discuss them earnestly, and to treasure up the fruit of such observation, thought, and discussion for after use. The result did not disappoint me. I need

hardly say that Professor Sanborn improved upon my crude suggestions, developed them fruitfully, builded far better than I knew, and made the instruction a thorough success. A large class of thoughtful young men came to his lectures. Cornell University is fortunately situated as regards the practical study of the problems involved; it was easy for his classes to visit with him, not only such local institutions as the neighboring County Jail and County Poorhouse, but also a large number of State institutions in the vicinity of the University, among them the State Prison at Auburn, the Penitentiary at Syracuse, the State Reformatory at Elmira, the House of Refuge (now the Industrial School) at Rochester, and the State Asylums for the insane at Utica and Ovid. The reports made and the discussions held on these were admirable.

The coming into the University Law Faculty of Professor Collin, so well known by his admirable work at the Elmira Reformatory, and so thoroughly equipped by his connection with State legislation at Albany, led to his appointment to the position formerly held by Professor Sanborn; and the instruction is still going on with results calculated to inspire hope in every well-wisher of our race.

This simple statement is made because it indicates, better than an elaborate argument can do, what part our leading Universities and Colleges can take in the evolution of Social Science, and especially in its relations to penal and charitable work. The whole result of this experiment strengthens my hope that men thus trained in the Universities of the various States may go forth into positions of influence, and especially into our legislative bodies, local, State, and National, to improve our old charitable and penal institutions and methods, and organize new ones.

But Cornell University has not been alone in this matter. Other institutions have given attention to the subject, and from time to time at the sessions of this Association we have had accounts of their work. Very noteworthy are the reports of Mr. Sanborn in various years, and especially in 1885, and of Mrs. Talbot in 1886. Among the men and institutions taking the lead in this noble work are Professors Perry at Williams, Dunster and Vaughn at the University of Michigan, F. G. Peabody at Harvard, James at the University of Pennsylvania, Scovel at Wooster, Dike at Andover, besides various others at Columbia, the University of Wisconsin, Wellesley, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr Colleges.

Undoubtedly, the most noteworthy contribution to the whole subject is the report on methods of education in Social Science, made to this Association in 1886 by a special committee,— Professor James of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Harris, now Commissioner of Education, and Professor Sanborn of Cornell. No more suggestive document has appeared in this country, and it ought to be brought to the notice of every College and University governing board and faculty in the country. More than that, it ought to be brought to the attention of public-spirited individuals, to show them how rich a field lies before us for cultivation in the interest of humanity.

Still another important document is Mr. Sanborn's Syllabus of Lectures before the Medical School of Boston University, published by this Association in 1886. This document, more special than the other, but hardly less important, should also be brought out of our archives, republished, circulated, and made the basis of University work.

What should this work be? There is no time in an address of this kind to treat such a subject exhaustively. All that I can do is to touch on certain salient points and give a few typical facts.

The field of this Association was divided in its early days between four, and soon after five, departments: *first*, Education; *second*, Health; *third*, Trade and Finance; *fourth*, Social Economy; *fifth*, Jurisprudence. Each of these, of course, has in it germs which require to be developed by specialists, apart from the more general work of a Social Science Association. This will be more especially seen with the third department, that of Trade and Finance, and the fifth, that of Jurisprudence, in which schools of Political Economy and Law are an absolute necessity. Still, that connection with special departments by no means takes them out of the wider field of Social Science.

Let us run very briefly through these five departments. The first, that of Education, presents a vast field; and, while it demands a special department of Pedagogy, or the science and art of teaching, such as is now established at some of our Universities, notably at the Universities of Michigan and Cornell, and the new Clark University at Worcester, still there are always problems of general interest to be studied by an Association like this. In no other department, probably, has so great a revolution been wrought during the existence of this Association. I choose the word "revolution" designedly, for the history of the higher educa-

tion in this country during the last twenty-five years shows far more than ordinary progress: it shows a distinct revolution, and with most happy results. To stimulate and direct this great change, this Association has done much. Scattered through its reports are such addresses and papers as those of President Eliot, President Gilman, Dr. J. M. Gregory, Dr. W. T. Harris, Mrs. Talbot, Miss Simcox, President Walker, Miss Lumsden of Scotland, and others, who have led the way toward the present better condition of things.

Yet, while the higher education has been so transformed in this country, it is a question whether the intermediate and primary education has been advanced in at all the same proportion. In my opinion, it has not been. Many questions regarding it remain to be developed by discussions like ours. As one of these, I would name public instruction in morals. Our archives show many admirable papers bearing on this. That by Professor (now President) Stanley Hall, on "The Moral and Religious Training of Children," published by this Association in 1882, may be taken as a type of a class of papers likely to be of great value. This subject should never be lost sight of in an Association of this kind. More and more our people are finding out that the development of the intellect without the strengthening of the moral sense is but labor and sorrow. Any one who knows anything about the history of the building up of Germany after it was crushed by Napoleon, and the part which Kant's "Critique of the Practical Reason" and Fichte's "Discourses to the German Nation" had in this upbuilding, knows what the value of moral training in Universities and schools may be. At this moment there is nothing, probably, so really helpful to France as the work of Paul Janet, and others like him, in bringing the Kantian Ethics to bear upon the children and youth of his country. Such labors as those of President Porter and Mrs. Corson to bring Janet's health-giving ideas to bear on this country should be supplemented by papers at our meetings.

Take, next, the department of Health: here, too, the Association has much to be proud of. Its published Proceedings show a long list of papers from the most eminent authorities of this country. Still, the facts and ideas brought out in these papers have not yet been brought to bear upon the people at large, or, indeed, upon the thinking leaders and teachers of the people.

May I be indulged here in another piece of personal reminis-

cence, which I make simply as suggesting something of possible use to others, and as presenting my view in concrete form? While occupied with the organization of Cornell University, I read for the first time Herbert Spencer's Treatise on Education. Nothing struck me so much in it as his argument upon the value to students of the study of Human Physiology. Under the influence of his reasoning, I secured at the opening of Cornell University, through the co-operation of Professor Agassiz, a Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, who was not only an original investigator, but an admirable lecturer. I insisted that we should depart from the custom, at that time common in our larger institutions of learning, of relegating this subject, as an optional matter, to a few lectures given in the Senior year by some physician called upon for the purpose; and that all students, near the beginning of their course, should attend and pass examinations upon a thorough course of lectures on this subject of Human Physiology,— a course to be illustrated by the best appliances obtainable in Europe and America.

The results surpassed my most sanguine hopes. Not only have four thousand young men and women gone forth with a fair practical knowledge on this subject, but a considerable number have been led to fit themselves carefully for physiological investigation. I point out this experience as an example of the way in which ideas, struck out by theorists, may be practically brought to bear on our system of public instruction.

Thirdly, Trade and Finance: here, too, the Association has done much. A list which includes such names as President Walker, Henry C. Carey, Professors Sumner and Perry, David A. Wells, George Walker, Edward Atkinson, Horace White, Bonamy Price, John P. Townsend, E. J. James, and so many of their compeers, is indeed one to be proud of. But there is room for one feature which I think might be helpful. I would suggest that, in future, efforts be especially made to secure papers, not only from such gentlemen as those I have mentioned, but also from men in active contact with the greater lines of business in the country, and especially with the management of banks, railways, express companies, forwarding companies, insurance companies, and the like. In saying this, I do not at all discourage the presentation of theory. Take as a typical example of what may be done, and has constantly been done by our Association, the recent history of the inflation mania in the United States. I firmly believe that the

presence in our National Legislature of men trained in a knowledge of the best theories on these subjects — men like Garfield, Bayard, Sherman, Morrill, Edmunds, Hawley, Gibson, and others of their sort — was the main agency in saving us, in 1874, from a catastrophe in which not only the national prosperity, but the national honor, would have been wrecked.

Very many other subjects naturally occur in this and kindred fields. Such simple but powerful teaching regarding ownership in land as that recently put forth by Dr. William T. Harris is of immense value. In fact, this whole question needs to be thoroughly presented again and again by our Association, in order that men may be trained to deal conclusively with the specious theories and brilliant arguments of erratic men of genius.

Just here, indeed, an objection will begin to arise in the minds of many. It will be said that instruction of this kind will be likely to create *doctrinaires*. It may create some, but I believe that its result will be to cripple demagogues on one side and *doctrinaires* on the other. It is an interesting fact that the school of young political and social economists now arising is the very school which is declaring against doctrinairism in this country. That we suffer greatly from doctrinairism, and have always so suffered, from the days of Thomas Jefferson until now, is undoubtedly true; but the main sign of help on the horizon is seen in the efforts of just this school of the younger men who have had the most thorough instruction. Here, indeed, comes in a subject which would be most fruitful, and which cannot be too frequently brought into the discussion of Associations like this,— the proper limitations of *laissez faire*.

Fourth, Social Economy: in this field the first quarter of a century in the history of the Association has been especially fruitful. The high standard set by Dr. S. G. Howe, Carroll D. Wright, Charles Loring Brace, Elizur Wright, Frederick Law Olmsted, Professor Johnson, Josiah Quincy, Robert Treat Paine, the Rev. Dr. Wayland, and others has been felt from first to last. Yet the old questions and many new ones will confront us during the next quarter of a century at least. One of these I select because, while it seems one of the most trivial, it is perhaps one of the most far-reaching,— a question in household economy, regarding "hired help." It is rapidly becoming one of the burning questions of this country. There is no doubt that in the poorest peasant cabin of England, France, and Germany the mother of the

household has better and more efficient help through household crises than have the wives of vast numbers of American farmers, mechanics, and merchants, who live in most comfortable houses and seem in every way prosperous. There is no doubt that this very want of suitable aid has broken down the constitutions of vast numbers of American women, destroyed multitudes of households, filled lunatic asylums, forced men of light and leading to leave influential positions in the rural districts for insignificant positions in the cities, and has done much to check the birth and growth of that part of the population on which the best hopes of the future depend.

So, too, take in this field another subject rarely thought upon,— provision for places of popular recreation. The development given to athletic exercises, the generous efforts made for seaside excursions of the poor of great cities, and the like, and the establishment of public parks at some of the larger aggregations of humanity in our country are in every way encouraging. But, after all, much needs to be done. It is very difficult to make the average city Councilman see the importance of public parks. In an interior city of this State, embracing 100,000 inhabitants, the noble gift of a public park has recently been allowed by the Common Council to be jeopardized, and possibly to be lost, by the non-fulfilment of the very easy conditions on which the gift was made. Such papers as that of Mr. Olmsted on this topic should be brought to bear on the popular mind through the University and the press.

Another subject, which, though it may appear technical, has so many bearings upon social welfare that it well deserves discussion in the future meetings of the Association, is that of Public Roads. On this subject, with the exception of sundry pungent statements by Mr. Olmsted, we have thus far presented little or nothing. As a matter of fact, our roads are the worst in the civilized world. The Governors of two of our largest States, as well as sundry Conventions, have called attention to this condition of things. During the past winter many localities in the State of New York were virtually cut off from each other and from the world by the condition of the highways. Nor was this the case merely in the rural districts: it was the case in many of the cities. I can name a city of 12,000 inhabitants which was almost entirely cut off from a railway station by the condition of the street leading to it. Here, too, the people perish for want of knowledge. Other republics,

far less advanced in wealth than ours,— Switzerland, for example, — have made magnificent roads under far greater difficulties than any we have to meet; and governments which Americans are accustomed to despise are entitled to look down on us with contempt in this respect,— as, for example, the old governments of Naples, of the Papal States, of the various little German Principalities, and others.

And, finally, in the field of Jurisprudence the past of the Association gives promise of a noble future. The names of Tilden, of Washburn, of Francis Wayland, of Chamberlain, Baldwin, Hammond, and many others, come at once to our minds. But much remains. Take, first, a simple question regarding crime. Perhaps the weakest spot in the general course of our public affairs is the administration of criminal law. I am well aware that the law itself, especially in this State, has, within the last twenty-five years, been greatly amended. Still, its administration is, on the whole, anything but satisfactory. This side of Spain, Southern Italy, and Greece, we shall probably find no such frequent defeats of justice in Christendom. Professor Stanley Hall, in his paper above referred to, speaks of the imperfect administration of criminal law as a natural vice in republics; but instruction ought to mitigate this vice, and in time to remove it. Certain it is that it seems now approaching its height. Punishment for the highest crimes is so long delayed by the most contemptible chicanery that its proper effect on those inclined to crime is almost entirely lost. Why is it that such a state of things is allowed to continue? Why is it that there is constant demoralization at the sight of criminals triumphant? The reason is very simple. Our people, even the leaders of the people, have but a faint conception of the importance of the subject, and next to no conception at all of the best dealing with it. Hence it is that we see the people laud and magnify the skilful criminal attorney, who is in this matter their worst enemy,— the attorney whose chicanery turns loose on them the most dangerous criminals to prey upon them and upon their children. There is in all our great cities, and indeed in our country at large, a great class of professional criminals. They are, as a rule, recognized. Their profession is known to be crime, as the profession of Mr. Vanderbilt is known to be railroad management, that of Mr. Potter Palmer the selling of dry goods, that of Mr. Evarts the law, and that of Dr. Phillips Brooks the ministry. Why is it, then, that these professional criminals are left loose to prey on us?

Simply because the public are unaware of the real cause of the difficulty, and their legislators are fettered by certain superstitions in law, survivals of arrangements adopted many centuries ago to protect peaceable citizens from tyrannical kings or greedy barons. The presumptions, methods, and machinery of the common law, which protected honest men in the Fourteenth Century, protect criminals in the Nineteenth. More and more the truth should be spread among the people that the real enemy of the citizen to-day is not King John nor even King George, but the professional criminal, the ballot-box stuffer, the chronic ruffian, the maker of drunkards, and that legal superstitions and fictions should no longer protect these.

So much for legislation. Then, too, thinking men and the people at large should be shown that, in the administration of the law, honor is due to members of the legal profession who sternly endeavor to root out crime, and not to those who protect crime. More than that, the people should be made to see that the function of prosecuting attorney is really important; that it should not be thrown over as part of the spoils of a political campaign, to be scrambled for by unfledged lawyers, but should be given to lawyers of eminence; and that, to make it desirable, the salary should be such that leading men in the profession will seek it and prize it.

In our Proceedings for 1886 will be found a paper entitled "How to deal with Habitual Criminals," by Professor S. E. Baldwin, of Yale. Nothing can be better, either in matter or manner. He shows how, to use his own words, "our prisons are becoming boarding-schools for the young criminals, and shelters for the aged criminals." He points out the fact that the habitual criminal is "a perpetual drain on the community by day and night." He gives an interesting study in Comparative Legislation, as he shows what has been proposed in different countries and States to improve this evil, and then offers a solution of his own which is worthy of the closest attention.

Surely, the fact that so eminent a legislator and advocate of popular rights as Edward Livingston was ready to develop the most extreme doctrine known in the Habitual Criminals' Act is evidence that there is no real danger to well-ordered liberty in evolving out of our present miserable condition in this respect something better; and some recent legislation of the State of New York seems to show that Livingston's principles in regard to dealings with habitual criminals are on the way to more general acceptance.

Take next the prevalence of crimes of violence, and the inadequacy of our laws in dealing with them. An eminent judge once said to me, "The taking of life by due process of law, as a penalty for the greatest crimes, seems the only way of taking life to which the average American has any objection." The judge was right. There is throughout this republic a wide-spread superstition favoring the protection of criminals. Safeguards useful in the Middle Ages to protect citizens against kings, feudal lords, and robber knights, are now used to protect even murderers. By the efforts of Associations like this, and by the agency of such popularization of their discussions as I advocate, there should be a quiet evolution out of this superstition,— an evolution of better ideas, taking form in better laws,— laws promoting more prompt, more efficient, more common-sense dealings with criminals, and especially with professional criminals. We have all heard the platitudes confounding crime with misfortune. To meet these, there should be developed more healthful modes of thought,— the idea that crime is not mere misfortune, that crime is crime, and that the criminal is a criminal. There should be developed a healthy, manly, womanly determination, while aiding to uplift those who have casually fallen into crime, to fight professional or habitual criminals, to exterminate them. The passion for fishing and hunting is doubtless a survival of the earliest instincts of the human race. Let this survival be made to take better forms. My hope is that such agencies as these I advocate may send forth many of our best trained young men to fish for plunderers, to hunt for scoundrels, vigorously, mercilessly. I trust that, through the popularization of proper ideas in the way indicated, we shall by and by have a prevailing sentiment that the most inglorious thing a man can do is to prostitute his talents in aiding crime and criminals, and that one of the most glorious things he can do is to prove his manliness by fighting on the side of justice and order.

Take next certain wide-spread but false notions regarding the Judicial Function. Much has been done already in this State to bring back the higher Judiciary to the position it held in earlier days. In 1847 there was an outburst of *doctrinaire* folly in the State. State judgeships were generally made elective, with short terms, small pay, and poor accommodations. Of late years there has been a change to a better system: judges have been given longer terms, larger salaries, better accommodations, and dignified surroundings. As to the highest State Court, certain simple bar-

riers between it and persons contending before it have been replaced. They are barriers which were originally evolved out of the common sense of mankind,— that common sense which brought men to know that mankind is largely led by the imagination, and that, when judges are sitting in court, everything that surrounds them, including even the garb they wear, should aid them to maintain the judicial attitude and enforce the judicial relation toward all present. They were barriers which the wisdom of our forefathers erected, which the unwisdom of our fathers tore away, and which the wisdom of the present generation has restored.

We have great reason, indeed, to congratulate ourselves that our courts are as good as they are. The Supreme Court of this nation is indeed its brightest jewel. It seems to have been created by our fathers in a moment of divine inspiration. The subordinate federal courts are also excellent. Our State courts are most of them good; but, after all, there is nothing more necessary, in order to keep our judiciary, and, above all, our elective judiciary, what it ought to be than the evolution in the people of a higher sense of the Judicial Function. More and more, Associations like this, and the higher schools of Social Science, such as those which I have suggested, should assist the growth in the popular mind of the truth that a cheap judiciary is the most costly luxury which a people can indulge in; that it is folly for the people at large to pay starvation stipends to judges who protect their highest interests, while millionaires and corporations can employ legal gentlemen who have proved their right to demand fees equal to a king's ransom. Instruction in our Universities, and short, pithy manuals spreading better ideas on this subject among the people, would be of great value.

So, too, in regard to public office: it is well, indeed, in the recurring political revolutions to fight wire-pullers and bosses, and to tear them from their thrones. Here, too, that survival of the earlier instincts, that passion for fishing and hunting, may find a healthful satisfaction.

But the more quiet evolutionary process which I here advocate should also be borne in mind. More and more should the effort be to evolve out of the present loose indifference to sound political ethics the simple idea that public office is not a reward for mere partisan henchmen, not a personal favor to be dealt out by one individual to another, not a coinage in which tricksters pay

their debts at the expense of the public, but, to use a truism which from the mouth of a great public man has become a vitalizing truth, that "public office is a public trust." Let this idea be developed through the publications of this Association, through the pulpit, through the press, by the public meeting. More and more let there be evolved in the popular mind the simple idea that the highest fidelity is not the fidelity of party workers to party leaders, or of the leaders to the workers, or of both to the party, but that the highest fidelity is fidelity to the community, to the Commonwealth, to truth, and to justice. There should be evolved the spirit of fellow-soldiership with true men, the spirit which honors a man because he respects the truth, the spirit which allows great liberty to a statesman on minor questions, provided he be clearly true on the greater questions, the spirit which, while it does not expect candidates to be saints, will not permit them to be scoundrels.

Take next — a question which to each of us is a local question — the administration of our cities. Here we touch the weakest spot of our system, and one of which an Association like this, and all the educational agencies it can employ, should be constantly mindful. Our cities are the rotten spots in our body politic, from which, if we are not careful, decay is to spread throughout our whole country; for cities make and spread fashions, opinions, ideals. Simply as a matter of fact, our cities are the worst governed in the civilized world. In them there is a maximum of expenditure with a minimum of good result. The cause is not far to seek. We are making the same mistake which ruined the mediæval city republics,— governing them by partisan mobs, with no proper check or balance.

Our only safeguard at present is in periodical revolutions,— revolutions tearing down officials as soon as their plundering becomes unbearable. Far better would it be to evolve among the people truer ideas of municipal government. These ideas seem to me mainly two: first, the idea that cities are not political bodies; that the question in electing a mayor or alderman is not what he thinks on national questions, but what he can do as to city questions. Simple as this idea is, it is very scantily developed as yet. Such an agency as that which I now advocate might be very influential in spreading it. The other idea is that, as the city is a corporation, as it has to do not at all with political interests, but with corporate interests,— paving, sewerage, lighting, water supply, the repres-

sion of crime, care of the public health, public comfort, public instruction,— those should have some control who have to pay for all these things. Why may we not evolve out of our present city system, in addition to the Board of Aldermen elected by all the citizens, a Board of Control elected by tax-payers, without whose consent no franchise should be granted and no tax levied? At any rate, this Association may well invite the best minds of the country to take part in the discussion of this topic; and we may well consider, also, how the knowledge and ideas thus brought out may be made available in the country through our system of public instruction in its various grades.

So much, then, for the past history of this Association, with its general lessons for the future. Allow me now to narrow down our view by presenting two practical suggestions.

First, I would advocate the establishment, in the higher institutions of learning throughout the country, of courses of instruction in all the five main divisions of Social Science recognized by this Association. Especially should there be instruction as to the best dealings by towns, counties, States, and the nation, with pauperism, crime, inebriety, and other vices, lunacy in its various degrees, the organization and maintenance of Health Boards and hospitals, general sanitary measures, and the like. Already there has been collected in this country, as in other countries, a large body of literature which would serve as nutriment for such courses. Already the field has been surveyed and blocked out with the utmost care by the reports above referred to. In looking back over the quarter of a century during which this Association has been at work, no thinking man can fail to be struck with the great number of subjects on which it has thrown light by special investigations, broad generalizations, or acute thought. Many of these have a very direct bearing on the most important problems of to-day,— problems, indeed, which are likely to press upon us for many years longer. To a large extent these admirable papers now lie slumbering in our archives, but such departments as these I now advocate would make them a living agency for good. The professors in these departments would bring them out, study them, modify them, supplement them, and bring them to bear on the best minds of the country. To say nothing of the wide, general results for good, such agencies would greatly increase the future efficiency of this Association; they would attract a large number of active-minded young men into its membership, provide re-

searches for it, and take part in its discussions. Such young men would bring to it valuable practical knowledge; they would come to it from boards of Village Trustees, from boards of County Supervisors, from the governing bodies of various charities, and from many executive and legislative positions. My hope, then, is that this Association will make some special effort to promote the establishment of such departments in our leading institutions of learning.

Here I would say a word regarding the admirable tractate of the Rev. John Graham Brooks, regarding special schools for the study of the science of charity. The good results accomplished abroad, as he shows us, and the good which might be accomplished at home, are undeniable. The value — nay, the necessity of such instruction he enforces with great power. But I would suggest to him and to others that such schools can only be made most effective when they are organized in connection with great institutions which bring together the active-minded young men of the country,— the men who are to become the future leaders in public affairs, the future managers of public institutions, and the future benefactors of humanity.

Again, the attention of men of wealth should be called more and more to the importance of endowing such departments of instruction in our Universities, and especially Professorships or Lectureships, with provision for the publication of results. My experience and observation in various institutions at home and abroad lead me to make two practical suggestions regarding such endowments.

First. The endowment for a Professorship or Lectureship should be sufficient to provide a salary large enough to secure the best talent and experience, enough to warrant some first-rate man in this field in devoting the necessary time to investigation as well as instruction.

Secondly. I think that the appointment in each case should be for a definite term, say three or five years, leaving it to the trustees of the institution to which the endowment is given to re-elect the Professor or not, as they shall see fit at the end of his term. I need hardly say that I am not led to this conviction by the experience of Cornell University thus far. I cannot conceive of the first incumbent of the Professorship there as ever outliving his usefulness in this field, but I make the recommendation on general principles.

Thirdly. I suggest to those who have not the means for the endowment of a Professorship, which might require a gift or bequest of sixty thousand dollars, or a Lectureship, which might require a gift or bequest of thirty thousand dollars, that much smaller sums might be made of great use. Ten thousand dollars would endow at any University in the country a Post-graduate Fellowship in this department, into which a young man who had shown himself especially fitted for such studies might be elected by the Faculty. Such a Fellowship would be of great use in enabling active-minded young men to perfect themselves in sundry departments of Social Science before going out into the world, either for investigation or for instruction. Here, too, I would make a supplementary suggestion. I would restrict the term of such a Fellowship to two years. This would prevent any such lounging or lingering of young men in a Fellowship as has injured the results of some such foundations at Oxford and Cambridge, in England. Moreover, I would require any young man holding such a Fellowship to give, say, one hour a day to university duty in his department, as an Instructor or an Examiner. He would thus be doubly useful to the department, and his experience as a teacher would not be without value to himself.

A still smaller sum (say, one to five thousand dollars) would be of use in providing a premium or premiums for the students giving the best reports, discussions, or essays on such subjects, in the field of Social Science, as the Faculty might assign.

So much in regard to the *higher* education in theoretical and practical Social Science. I now turn briefly, in conclusion, to the more wide-spread education, the diffusion of the principles of Social Science among the people at large.

In the year 1869, at one of the earlier meetings of the Association, Horace Greeley, then in his greatest activity, called our attention to the importance of some such work. He urged the preparation and publication of short, popular manuals for wide distribution among the people,— to use his own words, "embodying all that is known beyond dispute in the domain of Natural, Intellectual, and Moral Science."

There is a certain crude common sense in this proposal which all that knew that great man will recognize as characteristic of him; but it shows more clearly still his controlling characteristic, that which made him great,— his desire to serve humanity, to lift up the masses of men, to make the world better for his having lived in it.

Out of Mr. Greeley's proposal, crude as it is, a suggestion may be obtained of the greatest value. What his proposal meant was the diffusion, through the masses of the people, of the results obtained by experts and specialists, with the ultimate result of the saturation of thinking men in the country with the more important of these ideas which have a practical bearing upon the welfare of our people. As examples of the subjects which he would have treated in such little tractates,— which he proposed should be of thirty-two to sixty-four pages each, and cost from five to ten cents, — he named, first, Ventilation; second, Sexual Morality; third, Habitation; fourth, Health; fifth, Food. And he added, "These five illustrations will do as well as fifty."

It will be seen at once that the first suggestion I make in this paper gives the means of providing for the plan advocated by this second suggestion. Provision in the higher institutions of learning for investigation and instruction in Social Science would bring out studies and applications of theory to practice which would naturally take this popular shape. Certain it is that the active-minded young men graduated from such schools would be admirably fitted, especially after some little practical experience, to prepare such manuals as Mr. Greeley suggested.

This fact suggests an answer to the question, Why has a plan so simple and good as this lain in abeyance for nearly a quarter of a century? That answer is clearly this: The *whole* of the scheme — the two halves of it, as I propose it,— that is, instruction of well-trained, selected young men, and instruction of the people at large — must go together. A mistake on this point is much like the mistake so constantly made in our schemes of public education,— the mistake of supposing that we may neglect root or trunk and still have flowers and fruit; that without thorough provision for a supply of properly prepared teachers by high schools and Universities we can have excellent public schools.

This is the only reason, so far as I can see, why Mr. Greeley's suggestion, containing such excellent germs, has not borne the fruit which he expected. There has not been until recently any adequate agency for the training up of men to write such treatises, to popularize the results obtained by experts and special investigators, through the daily and weekly press and through such tractates as those which Mr. Greeley suggested. True, experts and investigators have done much; but there needs to be some medium between them and the public, and that medium can only be given

us by training-schools, where masses of thinking and influential young men are brought together.

Out of a multitude of subjects on which such popular tractates might well be written, and which would suggest topics to the daily and weekly newspapers as well as to the pulpit, let me allude to just one; and I shall introduce it by showing the result of the want of simple instruction in it among the people. There has recently been passed a law removing the insane from County Poorhouses to State Hospitals. The law itself is a triumph of religion, morals, and right reason. It is indeed a blessed triumph over barbarism and greed, but it has been long in coming. It has been urged every year for nearly half a century in our State Legislature. Nearly forty years ago a most conclusive report was submitted by a Committee of our State Senate in favor of such a measure, yet it has taken all these years to accomplish it. Senator Bradford advocated it every year of his term, but in vain. Dr. Beck advocated it, but died without the sight of it. Dr. Willard, whose noble name the greatest of our present State Hospitals now bears, died while advocating the measure before a Committee of the Legislature, and his death aided in gaining what all the efforts of his life failed to accomplish.

Why this long delay? Simply because public opinion was not informed. No efficient body of men was trained to know the truth regarding the matter, and to support in the pulpit and in the press the efforts of such men as Bradford, Beck, and Willard. The people at large were completely in the dark as to the necessity of the change, and all they knew was that it would probably cost some money.

Take one more question. Noble efforts have been made and noble things done for the right dealing with crime. The efforts of such men as Wines, Dwight, Brockway, and Eugene Smith have not been in vain. Yet at this moment fearful abuses exist, especially in our County Jails, which good men are struggling in vain to overcome. Well did Professor Baldwin, in his paper before this Association, say that these jails are "boarding-schools for the young criminals, and shelters for the aged ones." In some of the most important penal institutions in leading counties of this State, young men imprisoned for the first time are brought into direct contact day after day, month after month, with old professional criminals. Only one result can follow such a system as this,— the multiplication of the criminals and ruffians who prey

upon the lives and property of the community, and the training of them to greater skill in their warfare against mankind.

A few years ago the Bishop of Central New York, and a number of the best citizens of one of our leading towns, appeared before a Board of Supervisors, urging and begging that this and similar abuses might be avoided by the slight expenditure necessary to separate different classes of criminals from each other. But no such measure could be passed. Why? Simply because these supervisors felt that there was no public opinion back of them which would warrant such an expenditure. The agencies I have advocated are exactly those which would produce a public opinion such as will warrant counties and legislators in making such needed reforms.

I might go on in each of these fields, and point out innumerable fruitful subjects deserving to be developed by experts, then brought to the highest class of students in our Universities, and finally popularized for the use of the country at large. But time is insufficient. Allow me, however, to make one more practical suggestion, directly bearing, as I conceive, upon an important duty of this Association.

In looking over its publications for the last twenty-five years, I have been struck by the multitude of fruitful subjects discussed, the value of the papers presented, and the acuteness of many suggestions which these papers have elicited. But they are so hidden away in our publications that few, even of those most interested, can find them. No general index has been made. Could there be any better means of celebrating this twenty-fifth anniversary than making provision for a thorough index of all these papers and discussions, so that any person interested in any subject of Social Science can know where to go with hope of securing the information he needs?

In conclusion, allow me to congratulate the Association on the arrival of this anniversary, on the work which has been accomplished, and on its prospects for the future. And, among subjects for congratulation, I also name the establishment at Philadelphia of the Academy for the Promotion of Social Science. It comes, properly indeed, in this twenty-fifth year of our corporate existence. So far from being injurious to the work of this Association, it ought to be, and can easily be made, most helpful to it. The function of the new organization will doubtless be to promote the most exact scientific study of all subjects in the great field. Ours will

doubtless be, while presenting such studies and investigations, to bring them to bear more fully upon a larger public. Both organizations should go hand in hand, each supplementing the work of the other.

With renewed congratulations on what has been accomplished, I declare the present meeting of the Association opened; and at the same time, proud as it may well be of its past, I bid it look with hope and trust to yet greater and broader work in the future.

[*The following is the Syllabus spoken of by President White on page* 4.]

BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

SYLLABUS OF FOUR LECTURES ON THE DUTIES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION TOWARDS THE INMATES OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND IN REGARD TO THE DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CLASSES IN GENERAL.

BY F. B. SANBORN, INSPECTOR OF STATE CHARITIES FOR MASSACHUSETTS.

FIRST LECTURE, WEDNESDAY, JAN. 27, 1887, AT 8 P.M.

I. Who, and how many, the Dependent and Delinquent Classes are.

1. The physically defective, including the blind, the deaf-mute, the idiotic, the congenitally disfigured, the crippled, etc.

2. The mentally or morally abnormal, including the insane, the inebriate, the unbalanced or "cranky" class, etc.

3. The unfortunate, and therefore dependent, including widows and orphan children, the old and infirm, strangers in the country, persons thrown out of work or suddenly deprived of means by fire, flood, or other calamity.

4. The sick, with those dependent on them.

5. The vicious, including persons habitually intemperate, prostitutes, vagrants, petty thieves, young offenders, etc.,— with the families of such, or persons who depend on them more or less.

6. The criminal class, including those who suddenly or habitually commit crime, and are either in prison or are living in the community, and may at any time be arrested for crime,— with those dependent on them and often involved in their crimes.

7. The actual inmates of such public establishments as prisons, almshouses, hospitals for the sick, the insane, etc., schools for the blind, deaf, and idiotic, asylums for special classes, such as old men and women, soldiers, sailors, orphans, etc.

8. Estimated number of these classes.

II. General and Special Duties toward the Classes named.

1. Duty of the State as representing the whole community.
2. Duty of the public in its individual capacity.
3. Duty of the professions, and especially the medical.

III. The Health of the Community and of Individuals as an Agent in producing the Dependent Classes.

1. Sanitary conditions and ordinary sickness.
2. Contagious diseases and epidemics.
3. Insanity and its causes.
4. Maternity and diseases of vice.

IV. Anomalous Position of the Medical Profession in regard to Disease and Vice.

SECOND LECTURE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3.

V. The True Character of a Public Establishment for a Dependent Class.

1. Its relation to the State and the public treasury.
2. The admission and detention of its inmates.
3. Their sanitary condition and treatment.
4. Their visitation and inspection by individuals or committees.
5. Professional and general criticism upon the management of an establishment.
6. Its direct educational value to the medical profession.

VI. Hospitals for the Sick and the Insane.

1. These two classes unreasonably separated in medical education.
2. Insanity a specialty, but also involving the most general considerations.
3. Insanity in general practice.
4. Clinical instruction as necessary in regard to insanity as to surgery or ordinary disease.

5. The Westborough Hospital as related to the Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital and Boston University School of Medicine.

VII. Almshouses of the State or the Municipalities.

1. Indoor and outdoor relief.
2. An almshouse necessarily a hospital in some degree.
3. Outdoor medical relief and dispensary practice.
4. The Massachusetts system of outdoor relief.
5. The regulation and visitation of almshouses.
6. The almshouse at Tewksbury and its history.
7. The city almshouses of Boston.

THIRD LECTURE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

VIII. Maternity Hospitals and the Care of Young Children.

1. The need of maternity hospitals in cities, and the evils to be guarded against.
2. Infanticide and the desertion of children.
3. The Massachusetts system of care for motherless infants.
4. What may be done by physicians in this matter.
5. The disposal of "children of the State."

IX. Truant Children and Juvenile Offenders.

1. Vagrancy among children and grown persons.
2. Truant schools and local or private reformatories.
3. State reformatories.
4. The family system for reforming young offenders.

FOURTH LECTURE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

X. Prisons and their Inmates.

1. The convicts themselves.
2. Their families and dependents.
3. Discharged prisoners.

XI. General remarks on the whole subject.

OPENING REMARKS AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF 1891.

BY ANDREW D. WHITE, PRESIDENT.

Ladies and Gentlemen,— Twenty-six years ago a handful of men assembled in a little room in one of our Eastern cities, and decided to form an association which should, as far as possible, keep abreast of the best methods adopted or discussed in this and other countries for the improvement of society. At the same time they took measures that their studies should not be those of pedants or *doctrinaires*. They determined that the questions they examined should be living questions; and, what was more, they determined that, while studying them, they would also study the best methods of bringing the results obtained to bear upon society. The steady elevation of labor in its remuneration and opportunities, the improvement of education in all its degrees, the diminution of preventable disease, the best dealing practicable with lunacy, pauperism, inebriety, vice, and crime, the evolution of better laws, the reformation of prison discipline,— these and kindred questions were the basis of their researches and of their activity.

The Association thus formed grew rapidly, and soon embraced elements which, although not discordant, were certainly varied. How varied they were may be judged from the fact that among those who took part in the early discussions were Horace Greeley, Henry Villard, and Samuel J. Tilden. As its scope extended, it crystallized into five distinct departments for the discussion of as many classes of questions: first, Education; second, Health; third, Trade and Finance; fourth, Social Economy; fifth, Jurisprudence. Each of these, of course, has in it germs which require to be developed by specialists, apart from the more general work of a Social Science Association, and this will be more especially seen with the third department, that of Trade and Finance, and the fifth, that of Jurisprudence, in which schools of Political Economy and of Law are an absolute necessity; still, that connection with special departments by no means takes them out of the wider field of Social Science.

Just a year ago we assembled in this city to celebrate the twenty-

fifth anniversary of the founding of the Association. It was indeed a happy occasion, the best meeting we had ever had; and as we looked back over the years intervening since that day when at Albany, in 1869, a few devoted members met for the first time in this State, there was occasion for reverent thankfulness at the spirit shown, the work done, the hopes warranted, the progress secured. At that meeting I discussed in my opening Address, at considerable length, the work of our Association from its beginning, taking up each of its five great divisions. I shall deliver no such elaborate address now. I shall only informally, as briefly as possible, call your attention to such matters during the past year as suggest new efforts or teach new lessons.

First, as to Education. In my Address last year I dwelt at length on the necessity of developing higher and more thorough instruction in social science at our larger universities and colleges. Surely, circumstances warranted me then in urging that subject, and warrant me now in recalling it. The more I think of it, the more important it seems to me that selected men at our institutions of learning, preparing for the various professions, for the pulpit, for the bar, for the press, and, above all, those who have some hope of entering public life, shall be trained as to the best methods and results obtained in the study of vice, crime, inebriety, lunacy,— all those subjects with which men in various public bodies, in boards of supervisors, in legislatures, in Congress, have much to do. I reiterate now the declaration I made then, that of all the endowments which I can think of for the benefit of our fellow-men, those which shall encourage such studies as these promise most for the diminution of human suffering and for the righting of human wrongs.

Most happy, then, am I to report progress during the year. At the University of Pennsylvania measures have been taken looking to a large extension of such studies. At Columbia College, in our great metropolis, a similar development is seen. The first session of the School of Applied Ethics this summer at Plymouth was another significant indication; and I am especially happy to announce that in the new department of Philosophy recently created at Cornell University by the Hon. Henry W. Sage, with an endowment of over two hundred and sixty thousand dollars ($260,000), provision is made for the study of ethics with reference to these great questions of social concern.

Another point to which I then called attention was the *popular-*

ization of such instruction. I reminded you that this was a favorite idea of our former associate, Horace Greeley, sketching out to you the plan which he once presented to us. His proposal, to state it briefly, was that the Association should make condensed studies on matters of social value, and spread these studies in the form of leaflets or tracts among the people. Little has been accomplished in this direction; but I would suggest as three most pertinent subjects, especially at this time, the Improvement of Roads and Internal Communications, Ballot Reform, and Hygiene.

Still another department then touched upon was Jurisprudence. I advocated the establishment of professorships or lectureships at our universities and colleges, and especially at our law schools, in Comparative Legislation. This was no new idea. Edward Laboulaye held, for many years at the College of France, a professorship with this title. Eminent as a lawyer, as a man of letters, above all as a broad philanthropist, he swept the whole horizon of jurisprudence, and gave to France treasures of knowledge thus gained for the improvement of her whole legal system. I mention his name with especial love and gratitude; for he it was who, in spite of the frowns of imperial power at Paris, stood firmly by the United States during the rebellion, making his lecture-room a centre of influence in behalf of American liberty and union. Here, too, a notable event has occurred during the past year. In the paper of our colleague, Professor Baldwin of Yale, at a recent session of the American Bar Association in Boston, he presented a comparison of the more important enactments of our various legislatures during the past year, which must have been most suggestive to his hearers. But the most important thing in it, so far as my present purpose is concerned, is its corroboration of my contention of last year. I then insisted that no country in the world presents so good a field for studies in comparative legislation as this. Not only are the legislative bodies of the whole civilized world open to us, but about forty State legislatures are continually presenting various solutions of important questions in legislation. Among these I might mention the dealings of some thirty of our States with the question of ballot reform, and the dealings of many other commonwealths with that question which is daily growing in importance among us,— the question of the best dealings with professional criminals.

Again, in the matter of dealing with crime. The past year has at least produced one book which, though it cannot be entered

into the category of great works on the subject, is certainly of value. This work of Dr. Morrison is based upon extensive experience and earnest thought. To me, its main significance lies in the fact that it seems to furnish a refutation of some of those arguments of Lombroso which have been adduced at previous sessions of this Association, to prove that crime is merely a disease,— a contention which, it seems to me, is fraught with no small danger to the body politic.

And, finally, in the field of Hygiene there has been one notable event. The recent meeting of men eminent in this field, in Washington, marks an epoch. The papers presented were of great interest and value, and perhaps most notable were the statements showing the inutility of quarantine. It was certainly a great step toward relieving the trade and travel of the world from a system which has been fraught with great loss, and has caused much unmerited suffering. Happy should we be at receiving any information, from perhaps the most eminent body in this field which has ever come together, that modern hygienic research and practice have at last enabled the world to dispense, in great measure, with quarantine regulations.

I may also, in reviewing the past year, congratulate our Association upon progress made by other organizations in the same field. From various parts of Europe there come to us reports showing excellent work in every department of it. The new Academy of Social Science at Philadelphia has presented this year a remarkable series of papers. The School of Applied Ethics at Plymouth, to which I have already referred, produced a series of most fruitful discussions.

Such supplementary work as this is not at all to supersede ours: it is to strengthen it. I remember that during the anti-slavery struggle that very eminent and noble man, Gerrit Smith, once spoke to me with admiration of the splendid work then accomplished by Henry Ward Beecher. Said Mr. Smith, "I have been trying all my life to clutch the truth with both hands; but Beecher gets one arm around truth and the other round humanity, and then forcibly but lovingly brings them together." Is there not in this a statement of our own function? Other societies may have it for their purpose to make minute researches, more especially for scholars; others still may have it as their entire object to popularize the principal results of social science. Ours, it seems to me, should be, while promoting the strictest research, to lay hold at

the same time of the public at large, and bring the results of our research to bear upon society around us.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we are fairly entered into our second quarter of a century. Its termination will bring the Association well into the twentieth century of our era. Thus far it certainly has been productive of great good. Very many of the researches and results formulated have taken material shapes of various sorts for the improvement of society. So may it continue to be. May the work of this Association continue to leaven our material prosperity, and infuse into it nobler sentiments and higher aspirations! May it go on diminishing inebriety, crime, pauperism, oppression and wrong of every sort! May it give to the laboring man a lot more and more enviable, and to all mankind purer lives and higher ideals; and to this end may it have the blessing of God and the co-operation of all men willing to think and work for humanity.

I. PAPERS OF THE SOCIAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT.

---

1. PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS ON LABOR ORGANIZATION.

BY SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, OF HARTFORD, CONN.

The interests of capital and labor are not identical, but they need not and should not conflict. Each is essential to the other, and justly entitled to its fair share of the benefits which they jointly produce. No plain law has yet been discovered for the settlement of this account, by which the scales of justice have been made to balance. Nearly two thousand years ago a carpenter's son proposed a plan which did not meet with much favor at the time, but has since commanded some attention as applicable to the settlement of such questions. Unfortunately, its principles have not been conspicuous in the treatment of this question by either party.

The laborer has found that he cannot stand alone in the modern industrial struggle. Mechanical invention and immigration have encroached upon his opportunities for remunerative employment, till he has met the emergency in the only way open to him. Labor organization is the natural and necessary outgrowth of conditions for the existence of which he is not responsible.

It aims to unite the mass of workers to maintain and advance their common interests. If this aim could be fully realized, the irresponsible use of the vast power of such organization might prove a serious danger to society. This danger, however, is not likely to be realized. The masses may be stirred to united action to attain a specified end, like the movement for shorter hours of labor, but experience has proved that they cannot be held permanently together. Only a small proportion is efficiently organized. The permanent value of their organization will depend upon a just use of its power and the degree in which it is made mutually beneficial to employer and employed.

The laboring men knew what they wanted, but did not know the best way to attain it. Their want of discrimination in the use of unaccustomed power was one leading cause which brought labor organization into public disrepute. Capital, which did not understand the reason for the movement, regarded it as a dangerous impertinence, and was quick to take advantage of its mistakes to array the forces of society against it. Employers made the great mistake of fighting organization instead of assisting their workmen to distinguish and utilize the good, and avoid the evil involved in it. But recently there has been a most salutary change in the treatment of this question by both sides.

The attitude of employers toward labor organization down to a recent period, and the radical change which is taking place, is aptly illustrated by the relations between the hat manufacturers and the trades-unions in Danbury, Conn., which are among the oldest in the State and country. The unions were organized in 1850, when the manufacturers began a struggle to maintain their independence of the unions, which lasted for thirty-five years. During this whole period strikes and shop calls were of daily occurrence, and often paralyzed business. The labor cost of an order could not be safely predicted, nor the time when it could be completed. Frequent periods of idleness subjected the working people and tradesmen to serious inconvenience and loss. Finally, the hat manufacturers, tired of the wasteful struggle, proposed to the unions that both parties cease hostilities and seek peaceful means for the settlement of difficulties without the interruption of business.

Upon a suggestion from the trades-unions, the manufacturers organized the Manufacturers' Association, which entered into permanent agreements with each union, by which provision was made for the adjustment of all questions, including wages, through committees, and, in case of disagreement, by arbitration. Non-union workmen were admitted to the unions, and all the factories submitted to union rules.

This common-sense action in Danbury, in 1885, practically closed the vexatious warfare which had prevailed for a whole generation. For six years business has met with no interruption, except the lockout in November, 1890, caused by the attempt of the Trimmers' Union to withdraw from the compact, which did not succeed, and the principle was established that neither party can withdraw from the compact without the consent of the other.

The vitality of the trade idea is illustrated by an incident which occurred during this contest. The Trimmers' Union is composed of women and girls to the number of seventeen or eighteen hundred. The Manufacturers' Association, fearing that the course of the trimmers would endanger the trade agreements, decided to destroy their union. But, with all the combined power and influence which the seventeen wealthy corporations in the association could bring to bear, their effort failed, and the ranks of the union remained unbroken. Fortunately, the association and all of the unions sustain the integrity of the trade agreement, and there is no prospect of further disturbance.

It is interesting to note that the dissatisfaction of the trimmers grew out of the introduction and use of machines and the principle of subdivision of labor in trimming hats; and, further, that, while members of the union were displaced, the innovations made it possible for a union shop to make cheap grades of hats at a profit, using high-priced union labor, in competition with non-union shops, using low-priced non-union labor. It not infrequently happens that loss in one direction, by reason of such changes, is partially or wholly compensated by gain in another.

The experience of the last six years in Danbury clearly demonstrates that it is possible for capital and labor, by perfecting instead of fighting organization, to maintain the just rights of both parties and harmonize clashing interests without resort to force.

Fortunately, the prevailing assumption that organized labor has no right to any voice in the adjustment of wages and other conditions, vitally affecting the laborer, that employers are bound to respect, is giving place to more just and reasonable views. The superior advantages which wealth, education, and commanding business and social relations confer on employers, should be used to supplement the honest efforts of the less favored working class, in seeking equitable adjustment of difficulties for the existence of which neither is responsible, but which both must face.

The dissatisfaction of the laboring man with his present limitations is one of the hopeful signs of progress. The first President Dwight, President of Yale College one hundred years ago, in referring to the indisposition of the Englishman of that day to attempt to grow out of the condition in which he was born, said, "If an Englishman is born to the wheel-barrow, he never will aspire to the hand-cart." In A.D. 1100 a charcoal-burner named Purkess found the dead body of William II., son of the Conqueror, who

had been shot with an arrow in the New Forest, and carried it jolting in his rough cart to Winchester cathedral. "Lineal descendants of this man are reported living in the same spot, who have constantly been proprietors of a horse and cart, but never attained to the possession of a team" (more than one beast). They occupy the same rank to-day as their ancestor who furnished rough transportation for the carcass of the second Norman king eight hundred years ago.

The fact that the working people of America are stirred with ambition for solid advancement in life is cause for profound satisfaction. Labor organizations have contributed largely to the public good in this country and Europe, in awakening and fostering the manly ambition of the working people.

A large proportion of the members of the unions is from the less intelligent classes of the working people. In many of the trades intelligent mechanics who receive liberal wages do not feel personal need of organization and prefer to act independently. Labor organization suffers for want of the help of these men, whose higher intelligence and wider experience would insure wiser and more conservative leadership. Most unions restrict membership to actual workmen. This is probably wise; but unions suffer serious loss by the promotion of their best men to positions of trust, which disqualifies them for membership. It is a curious fact that in these changed relations overseers and managers often become unfriendly to the system, and labor difficulties are sometimes aggravated by the jealousy of workmen of overseers and bosses promoted from the ranks.

The loyalty and unselfish fidelity of the members to the unions, and their willingness to share their earnings with fellow-unionists, can in almost all cases be implicitly relied upon, however great the inconvenience may be to themselves and their families.

The Knights of Labor are entitled to the credit of organizing and developing the principle of settling disputes by means of friendly conference and arbitration. It is a reasonable and common-sense method, and should receive universal encouragement. Owing to the complex character of the organization, the masses of the working people prefer the simpler form adopted by the trades-unions, which they can easily understand.

While the unions were not, like the Knights of Labor, special advocates for the peaceful settlement of difficulties by arbitration and conciliation, the principle has now been practically adopted by all organizations.

The enrolled membership of the unions is small compared with the mass of the working people, but it has the advantage of organization. A dozen men thoroughly organized have greater efficiency than hundreds or even thousands without it. While their mistakes have been numerous, trade organizations, as a whole, have exerted a powerful, progressive influence. All the State bureaus of labor statistics and that of the United States were established through their direct efforts. Imperfect as the organization is, it affords the best and almost the only practical means for direct communication with the laboring people. The work of the bureaus of labor statistics is greatly aided by this means of intercourse. Ballot reform, and especially the adoption of the official ballot, was strenuously advocated by all labor organizations long before its importance received public recognition; and it is through their direct efforts that the system has been so extensively adopted. Their agitation for this cause and for weekly payments, factory inspection, shorter hours of labor, and other reforms, has met with marked success.

But their greatest efforts have been expended upon questions affecting wages. In this field, which appeals directly to their most pressing needs as well as to their selfish instincts, their intelligent leaders have found the greatest difficulty in convincing the rank and file that wages cannot be permanently increased on a falling market, and that the organization which is designed to help the laboring man to obtain justice can only be legitimately used, under proper conditions, to secure a just advance or to prevent or retard an improper decrease, and that permanent success can only come to the union or to him personally from a course that will promote the mutual good of employer and employed.

Extended observation justifies the belief that these views are now generally held by union men. Many employers frankly say that under such conditions the unions can be as beneficial to them as to the workmen. Numerous instances have recently been reported in Connecticut in which employers have advised their employees to organize, believing that it would result to their mutual advantage.

An extensive builder and contractor recently said, referring to the unions of carpenters, masons, bricklayers, hod-carriers, and others connected with the building trades, that he had no objection to these organizations. He said that he saw no reason why the laboring people had not as good a right to organize and to say who should be admitted to their several trades, and to do what

they could to obtain liberal remuneration, as ministers, lawyers, and doctors had to organize their societies and unions, and to say who should be permitted to practise or officiate in their several professions; under what conditions their members should be permitted to earn their daily bread, and to fix their fees for professional services; or as business men had to combine to promote their interests. He said that the unions had never complained of his discharge of men for cause. He further said the average workmen furnished by the unions were superior to the average under the old system. Answers to inquiries of prominent builders in other cities and towns in Connecticut were in substantial accord with those referred to. Jevons says,* "All classes of society are trade unionists at heart, but differ chiefly in the boldness, ability, and secrecy with which they push their respective interests."

In connection with the foregoing opinions of builders and contractors, it is proper to note that there are others, especially among the smaller contractors, who are restive under the new order of things and who do not accept the situation willingly. But, so far as these inquiries have extended, the opinion seemed to prevail that, on the whole, in the building trades the unions are helpful to both employer and employed.

Contractors say that they find little embarrassment on account of any advance in the labor cost falling on the property owner by reason of fewer hours of daily labor in the building trades. The opposition to the unions, based on the theory that capitalists will not build if remunerative wages are paid, seems to be hardly justified by the facts. Capitalists who have been interviewed say substantially that they are not only willing, but prefer, that labor should be liberally paid. Inquiry and observation in other manual trades and employments show similar results, but varying according to the conditions affecting each particular trade.

The question whether the union will be advantageous or otherwise to the contractor, and especially to the employees, depends upon the intelligence, good judgment, and business qualifications of the contractors and union officials. Either party wanting these favorable conditions may make the relations of capitalists, contractors, and employees intolerable. Experience seems to justify the conclusion that the union admits of reciprocal relations which may make it advantageous to both parties and to society.

The effectiveness of trade organization in mechanical industries comes far short of that attained in the manual trades. In all man-

*Preface to "State in Relation to Labor."

ufactories labor is struggling to find its proper adjustment in the sweeping changes from manual to mechanical production. The average intelligence required in the masses of working people employed in all factories becomes lower and lower as inventive genius multiplies the means for mechanical production. Major Bent, president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, said in a recent address, referring to their large works at Steelton, near Harrisburg, Penn.: "When that plant was started, the average wages of our men was above four dollars per day. Now the average is about one dollar and seventy-five cents per day." Numerous cases showing equally radical changes might be cited.

It is here that intelligent labor encounters its hardest conditions. All the operatives in a given occupation may suddenly find their occupation abolished. Continued production of a given article often depends upon keeping the labor cost from advancing or forcing a reduction. The employer is as much perplexed as the employee. The demand of the union for increased wages is met with the assurance that the increase demanded would result in closing production, or in substituting mechanical means for accomplishing the work now performed by human hands. Many of the large manufacturers keep in their employ experts and inventors for the purpose of reducing the labor cost of production by improving their labor-saving machines. A single illustration is in point.

The manager of one of the largest manufactories of hardware in Connecticut recently said that two years ago they were manufacturing an article at a cost of six dollars and fifty cents per dozen, which involved the labor of fifty-seven men. They were able to sell the article at a profit of fifty cents per dozen. A competing establishment was manufacturing the same article, but at a cost which gave the first the advantage in the market. A committee of the union called upon the manager and urged an increase of wages. He showed them the facts as stated, and that the proposed advance would give the trade to the competing firm. He further informed them that, if the labor cost was increased, it would compel them to do most of the work by machinery. The demand was pressed, and the advance granted. The result was that in a few months machinery was built by the aid of which seven men produced more goods than had been produced by the fifty-seven formerly employed, at a cost of only three dollars and fifty cents per dozen. Of course, the result displaced fifty of the men employed in the manufacture of that one article. Numerous similar

incidents might be cited in other lines of manufacture. The radical changes in methods of production in all mechanical industries render any permanent solution of the intricate problem in these lines extremely difficult, if not impossible.

It is true, however, that there are mechanical industries, limited in their extent, in which labor organization meets reasonable success in influencing the conditions of labor.

In one of these, having but seven manufactories in the whole country, only skilled operatives trained to that work can be profitably employed. The limited number of operatives are closely organized in unions which have succeeded in securing remunerative wages. The occupations are similar to those in another line of industry requiring a similar grade of skill, which employs thousands of operatives who are not efficiently organized. The lowest wages paid in the organized industry are two dollars per day. Nearly all, however, earn from three to three and a half dollars per day, and in some cases four and four and a half dollars; while operatives of the same grade in the other line receive wages varying from ninety cents to one dollar and a quarter, and in rare instances one dollar and a half per day. The proportion who receive as much as one dollar and a quarter per day is small.

But for the close organization of the skilled operatives in the limited industry, by means of which apprenticeship and admission to their unions are limited and controlled, equally skilled operatives in the similar line would immediately become competitors for their places, and wages would fall to the lower scale. In maintaining liberal compensation, this union does no wrong to the manufacturers, since all are subject to the same conditions, and the difference in the increased labor cost of goods to the consumer is infinitesimal.

It would be a public benefit if the thousands engaged in the similar occupations referred to could secure to themselves like remunerative wages instead of the present beggarly income of ninety cents to one dollar and a quarter per day, which necessitates the employment of wife and children in the mills in order to secure a daily income equal to that of the father alone in the other similar employment; while the public who consume the goods, notwithstanding the modern craze for the bargain counter, would willingly pay the increased labor cost in the purchasing price of the goods.

In some trades the efficiency of local unions is supplemented by the action of those in other places whose members use the prod-

ucts of the former's labor. This is illustrated by the case of the local unions of quarrymen, and the unions of stone masons, stone cutters, and carmen who use or handle the quarry products. The local unions of quarrymen were materially assisted in their strikes for shorter hours with increased pay by the refusal of unions to use or handle their products for building or other purposes in New York and other large markets till their demands were complied with, which seriously embarrassed, and in some instances stopped, the business of the quarry companies.

Many of the most intelligent workmen believe that the agitation of the movement for shorter hours of labor will prove to be the most effective agent for the equitable adjustment of the general labor problem. It is the leading question in all of the labor organizations to-day.

The absurd theory that a man can perform as much work in eight hours as he can in ten is not held by the working people. They believe that, if the hours of labor are reduced 20 per cent., it will require a corresponding increase of laborers to perform a given amount of labor in a given time. They further believe that, if the percentage of decrease in the hours of labor is greater than the percentage of the unemployed, there will necessarily be appreciation in wages.

The agitation for shorter hours has awakened general public sympathy for the movement. Intelligent employers say that the objections are not to the change itself, but to the practical difficulties which must be encountered in bringing it about in important lines of mechanical industries where it will meet its gravest difficulties. But the movement has met with practical success in the building and some other manual trades, and indications favor its general success.

Wages under an eight or nine hour day will be adjusted on precisely the same principles which control under a ten-hour day, and should be treated as an independent question. If combined with the movement for shorter hours, it will be sure to give the impression that the object of the latter is merely to increase wages.

The use of the strike, boycott, lockout, and black list, has fallen into disrepute, but is by no means obsolete. Of these objectionable expedients, the black list is the least excusable and the most unpopular. It is a system of terrorism borrowed from the dark ages, and is utterly unworthy of the otherwise honorable men who still permit its use. No employer is willing to admit that it has

ever been employed in his establishment, and yet in disguised and hidden forms it prevails wherever there is an attempt to enforce the requirements of organized labor. It prevails to the greatest extent in places where organization is most effective.

It is a serious fact that officers of unions and members of committees who are conspicuous in maintaining contested union interests are very likely to find themselves practically blacklisted. Discharge is never attributed to this cause, and frequently does not immediately follow the offence; but sooner or later some plausible excuse, like "dull times," is utilized to drop the objectionable hand, who will be refused work in other factories. Many cases might be cited in proof of these statements. Some skilled hands are received back after a limited period of enforced idleness.

Tradesmen and professional men often decline to serve as arbitrators, because they are afraid that connection with sharply contested arbitration might injure their business by incurring the displeasure of one side or the other.

In Danbury one leading hat firm declined to join the Manufacturers' Association, but complied with the union rules. Their factory forms an asylum for men and women who have been practically blacklisted in the other shops. They are among the best workmen and women in the trades. It is invaluable to the unions, because it enables them to draw the ablest unionists for officers and members of committees from this shop's crew, as it is termed, all of whom are beyond the reach of the dreaded blacklist.

The danger to employees in forming unions and taking positions as officers and members of committees is still real, and is encountered in almost all lines of industry.

In mercantile lines agreements are made between employers that they will not employ a man or woman discharged by another employer in their line, or who leaves such employer without his recommendation for honesty and efficiency. It would be difficult to find recorded evidence of such agreement; but numerous cases could be cited which prove the existence of this form of practical blacklisting. The fact remains that in mercantile as well as mechanical pursuits the practice prevails to an extent bordering on conspiracy.

The laboring people, as a rule, have small confidence in the efficacy of profit-sharing and similar plans for securing to them their share of the products of their labor. Nearly all prefer the plan of fixed wages, which are not subject to contingencies and

conditions with which they are wholly unfamiliar. The system works smoothly when there are profits to be distributed; but, when the frequent intervals of depression occur, and there are no profits, the question of fair dealing in the manipulation of the accounts is almost sure to be raised. Even if the workmen were admitted to an inspection of the books, it would be of little practical service, because they are not familiar with methods of bookkeeping and the principles of business management. In Connecticut at least they believe that the practical effect of all such schemes is to reduce wages sufficiently to discount all receipts from so-called profit-sharing. They have a shrewd suspicion that in some way the dividend to the employee is provided for to the profit of his generous employer.

An interesting experiment under the name of Gain-sharing attempts to obviate this objection to the profit-sharing plan. Here, too, the advantage to labor is challenged by the laborers, because the accounts are all kept by the employers, for which service they appropriate one-half of the gains, if any there be. They control the wages of their men, and many of the employees believe that in practical operation the depreciation in wages will in some way more than balance their half of the gains. It is evident that the success of any of these plans for profit-sharing presupposes a degree of intelligence in the average workingmen and of their confidence in employers which has not yet been attained.

The revolution in public thought and sympathy on the subject of labor organization during the last five years is remarkable. When the observations upon which these remarks are based began five years ago, reasonable and intelligent men among the organized laboring people, in referring to their efforts for labor reform, used the following truthful language: —

"We are not understood by the public, our actions are misrepresented, and our motives are misjudged; we have never had opportunity to lay before the public a fair expression of our ideas on the labor question; our papers published in the interest of labor reform are only read by a few of the laboring people; the public press will not exchange with our papers or copy articles which fairly represent our views. In reporting our meetings, they only ridicule us for our failures and mistakes. The public is ignorant of the merits of our cause, and we are condemned without a hearing."

To-day the secular and religious newspapers freely open their

columns to the broadest discussion of the interests of labor and labor organization, and fully and fairly report all of their meetings in their news columns. In magazines and innumerable other publications, in the pulpit and on the platform, the subject is treated and discussed by the ablest minds in professional and business life.

Study of its practical features has a large place in the departments of political and social science in all of our schools and colleges, under professors and teachers who are almost to a man radical in their ideas of industrial progress and reform. Social science and economic associations provide for open discussion of the subject, in which representatives of the workingmen and their societies are invited to give free expression to their views and participate in the discussions.

While the greatest efforts of labor organizations have been expended upon questions affecting wages, it is doubtful whether the advantages reaped by the laboring people from their contests with capital at all compare with the results of their efficient educational and benevolent work, and their efforts for the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, ballot reform, weekly payments, factory inspection, shorter hours of labor, and other reforms of lasting value to society.

The contest between capital and labor is by no means ended, but the time must come when each will have learned that its interests can in no way be served by hostile relations. Improved conditions will not come through sudden revolution, but through the slower process of evolution. That passion and prejudice have blinded and warped the better judgment of both sides in such a sharply contested field is not strange. Selfish cupidity will continue to retard, but cannot stop, progress. The best interests of society are inextricably involved in the contest. Legal enactment may be helpful in attaining special ends, but public opinion is the court of final appeal. No organization of capital or labor can long maintain itself in opposition to an enlightened public sentiment. Once make the facts in the case clearly evident, and the final public verdict will demand justice.

It is the privilege and the duty of labor organizations to give to the public full and authentic statistics relating to this subject. In such educational work lies their highest and most effective usefulness.

2. TRADE-UNIONS: THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS, METHODS, AND AIMS.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, NEW YORK.

After eighteen hundred years the most eminent of the world's scholars have not hesitated to write "Explanations and Defences" of the Christian religion. The Trade Unionist need not therefore wonder that he, too, while defending a cause which dates back still further in the past, should be called upon again and again to give reasons for the faith within him, and reply to the new sceptics every generation produces. Long before Peter trod the streets of Rome or Paul addressed the people of Athens, the workers, the artisans of both Rome and Greece, had been forced into combinations.

At that day religion and politics were one: there was no line of separation between Church and State. Slavery was the normal type of those who labored; yet, as civilization spread and cities rose, luxuries grew in demand, and with demand arose a new class, that of free artisans, skilled in all the arts of their various callings. But whether in combinations of the captured and doomed to slavery, or in protective associations of freemen, dire necessity alike compelled unity of action. The rapacity of the rich, the unbridled licentiousness and cruelty of the age, made the life of the toiler a dark and dismal one. Yet in spite of all threats and punishments, or rather because of them, the oppressed grew closer together, and silently whispered their grievances and their hopes. The history of the ancient guilds, their federation for mutual support, their pious care of the sick, and provision for the burial of the dead are matters well known, and which I need not here enter into.

In speaking of their aims, what I chiefly desire to emphasize is the fact that wherever a union of the toilers has come into existence it has arisen from a necessity to combat oppression. A free people never rebel. Before a man can become rebellious to existing circumstances, he must have grievances; and it is only when these eat into his soul, and goad him on to either desperation or retaliation, that concert of action is instinctively felt essential.

Their aim was ever the same,— protection and mutual assistance under adverse conditions. But, it may be asked, if their aims are the same to-day as over two thousand years ago, wherein has there been any progress, if the producers of the world's wealth are still contending against injustice and combining to redress grievances?

The conditions are vastly changed from those of preceding centuries. In Christian lands chattel slavery has ceased. The taint of labor no longer carries with it legal servitude. Yet in what manner can Trade Unionism claim aught towards this achievement? In the first place, it can be confidently asserted that whatever tends to produce solidarity directly aids progress; for it is by the union of people for a common purpose, the subordination of personal to general aims, that a higher standard of social morality is attained, the sympathetic nature of man quickened, and the human brought into greater prominence over the selfish animal nature. The history of England and France illustrates in a marked degree the influence of Unions upon human progress. While England presents the battle-field where the guilds have uninterruptedly continued their warfare for centuries, and have done much to establish the sturdy independence of the toilers, France no less illustrates the influence of the spirit of industrialism.

When the first wild cry for the Crusades rang throughout Europe, civilization itself seemed to be in its midnight hour. The downfall of the Roman Empire, the repeated invasions of the Goth, Hun, and Vandal, the growing strength of Moor and Moslem, the constant wars of proud baronial lords, the abject condition of the serfs, the superstitious dread in high and low of all that indicated change, seemed to prophesy the fate of the empires of the East for the future of Europe. But the crusaders built wiser than they knew. As the exigencies of the later day brought emancipation to the black race in the South, so did it then to the serf. For centuries the serf had toiled in the same weary rut worn by his ancestors. Attached to the soil, and sold with it like the oxen he drove before the plough, unable to learn the state to which he belonged, his knowledge of the world was limited to the visible horizon. But in taking up the cross of the Crusade he became a freeman. For two centuries the contest was waged to rescue the Holy Land; and, though the Moslem remained in its possession, the battle was not lost. For during those two centuries there was a constant return of emancipated pilgrims,— men who had

seen other lands, other civilizations, strange arts and luxuries of which they were hitherto ignorant. New desires, new wants, arose; and in every city of France skilled artisans were called upon to supply them. Within the walled city, the Commune of France, against the rapacity of the feudal baron with his armed retainers were pitted the industrial organizations, whose very existence demanded peaceable conditions. There more than anywhere else was most clearly seen that struggle which characterizes progressive civilization,— on the one side, militant measures, relying upon the past, and, on the other, industrial measures, looking forward to the future. The King possessed but little real authority; but, allying his own cause with that of the artisans in these walled Communes (a strange alliance of king and toiler), the proud baron was over and again defeated, and the feudal tyranny supplanted.

As in earlier history the two opposing systems were slavery and trades-unionism,— the one compulsory servitude, the other voluntary co-operation,— so here we find the guilds strengthening the hands of order in the interest of peace.

Louis IX., Saint Louis as he is termed, in return for the aid thus rendered to the crown, whereby France was enabled to escape from the tyranny and horrors of feudal rule, formally recognized the Unions, and granted them privileges unknown in any other country. In short, it may be confidently asserted that the growth of French nationality, the solidifying of divergent interests, culminating in the Golden Age (as it is termed) of Louis XIV., was due chiefly to the organized artisans of that country. The student of history will not pause to consider whether such an alleged "Golden Age" was a perfect one or not, but he will realize the point I wish to emphasize: that the impetus given by the co-operation of king and guild tended to progress, annihilated feudal disorder, and furthered peaceful evolution.

On the one side, the past was represented by the mailed knight, intent on private revenge or plunder, carrying with him terror and desolation into countless homes: his only productive skill consisted in creating widows and orphans. On the other side, the future loomed up in the form of youthful Industry, to whom liberty and peace were as essential as air to lung-breathing animals. And yet but for organization these efforts would have been fruitless, and chaos and disorder would have remained. It is true that authority finally gained the upper hand, and forgot the debt of obligation due to these humble allies; but in the seed sown a spirit

grew which culminated in the French Revolution, and has changed the face of the political and social world.

While this was accomplished by the French artisans through the causes and means mentioned, it must be conceded to the English that they made the most heroic and stubborn fight for industrial liberty. The laws in England for centuries continued so oppressive that even within scarcely more than a century the condition of Scottish miners was really that of serfdom. An author of repute states: "They were obliged to remain in the pit as long as the owner chose to keep them there; and they were actually sold, as part of the capital invested in the work. If they took work elsewhere, their master could always fetch them back, and flogged as thieves for having robbed him of their labor" (*Trant*). The power of the justices to fix wages continued even so late as 1812. In the fourteenth century all organizations of workmen were prohibited as "conspiracies." In fact, less than a hundred years ago, until 1795, no workman could legally travel, in search of employment, out of his own parish. But restrictive laws and enactments to fix wages always end in failure. The day had passed when toilers could patiently submit. As W. T. Thornton tersely says, "Men are seldom collected together in large masses without speedily discovering that union is strength; and men whose daily avocation obliged them to be constantly using, and by use to be constantly sharpening, their wits, were not likely to be backward in making this discovery." As a result of this determined opposition of the British workmen, Trade unions are now legal societies there, with due protection given to their funds, thus becoming constitutionally incorporated as institutions of that country.

To sum up their achievements in a sentence, we may briefly say, that, wherever the people enjoy most liberty, there Trade unions are most formidable. On the contrary, in those countries where long hours prevail, where poverty sits installed at the domestic hearthstone, where want and misery preside over the household economy, and hope is but a barren mockery and a dream, there the Trade union is not. And it is from these lands that our plutocratic adorers of abstract liberty seek to import "hands," numbering them with a tag, to supplant the labor of those whose brawn and muscle have won for them the liberty they delight to praise so vociferously on each recurring Fourth of July.

I have said that in those countries where economic and social

misery abound and are the rule Trade unions do not exist. Permit me to add that, as in physical life the germs require natural conditions to their full development, so in the economic struggle for better and more humane conditions of life, the first seeds of discontent must make themselves manifest. In other words, a spirit of greater independence and awakening intelligence is essentially prerequisite to the organization of the Trade-union.

But their methods are revolutionary, we are told. Yes, in a sense they are. To-day, as in the past, unity of action is the result of necessity. Conditions have changed, it is true; but the fight must still be waged, though it be on other grounds. The religious and political issues of the past no longer enter into the contest, but year by year the issue is more clearly seen to be purely an economic one. The workman no longer tolerates religious dissension in his craft guild: to do so would be to thresh past century straw. The devout and undevout meet together, without knowing each other's religious preferences. In the modern Union religion is a matter of conscience, which each must settle for himself, acting upon his own responsibility. But trade matters, questions of wages, hours, working rules (which, by the way, when enforced without or against the voice or consent of the toilers, are more tyrannical and bear worse upon him than all the laws of country or State), and other conditions of labor involve a common interest, and upon these accord is found. Political issues, purely as such, likewise find the Union barren ground for sowing. There has been a steady growing conviction among organized toilers that political aims cannot settle economic demands. In spite of present efforts to unite the toilers of the land, both in factory and farm, upon a platform of political demands, I think I am right in asserting that the Unions — as such — will not be found committing themselves to any such programme. Individual members in large numbers undoubtedly will, but it will be as citizens rather than trade unionists.

And I may be here pardoned for a digression in connection with opposing methods in organizing toilers. One hundred years ago nothing was more common than bitter animosity between trades: battles between the journeymen of one and those of another were of frequent occurrence in the streets of London and Paris. Self-preservation was instinctively felt to be protection of trade privilege. To-day how different is the situation! Increased personal liberty has widened human fellowship; and, in the Feder-

ations of Labor here and abroad, the interests of the whole are seen to be best subserved in the welfare of each. In our country the general support given to the carpenters in their struggle for shorter hours is an example,—an instance, which that splendid body of independent toilers will more than cheerfully reciprocate to whichever of their allied brethren will next assume the banner at the front. Nor need we rely on this movement that the carpenters have made or other trades may make, as an example of the solidarity of feeling and concert of action resulting from the separately organized Unions. Every day, in city, town, and village, the same spirit and action are manifested in instances of heroic and temporary self-sacrifice that are made to advance the interests of those working at one trade,— in the hope, yes, the knowledge, that by such assistance the best interests of the entire grand army of labor are promoted.

On the other hand, we are met with a siren song which, promising an "Ideal" (some might say Idealistic) organization, virtually disrupts trade lines and destroys autonomous action, by subordinating independence to obedience to central authority. As Trade Unionists, we know nothing of mixed unions: we ask, in the warfare for greater industrial independence, that each combatant march under his own banner, where united action is final and obligatory upon those who may be selected to lead. In short, we oppose all effort to introduce militant measures issuing from the centre outward, and favor voluntary organization, preserving the autonomy of each trade. In other words we prefer action to promises, deeds to words.

In the half-hour allotted to me it is impossible to present more than a general outline of a subject that is more important in its bearing and influences on human progress than all other questions combined. Yet, at the risk of preventing myself from the opportunity of a better presentation of our cause, I feel it incumbent upon me to briefly refer to the question of strikes.

Generally, the view is held that strikes form the sum total of the efforts and results of the Trade-union movement, when, as a matter of fact, a strike is but one of the manifestations of it. A strike necessarily exhibiting an antagonism, and being a public act, it attracts general attention, and, whether successful in attaining the purpose for which it was inaugurated or otherwise, a judgment is formed: it is praised or condemned according to the result. But should strikes be condemned by thinking people? Together

with those who love their fellow-men and who endeavor to aid in the solution of this great labor question, I believe that strikes should be avoided whenever and wherever possible. I ask myself, however, and I ask you, Will denunciation of strikes prevent them? Should the workers suffer their already scant means to be curtailed? Would you advise them to bear all the taskmaster's oppression, his insults and injustices, without protest? Shall the natural desire for improvement in his social and economic condition be curbed upon the only ground that he is a wealth-producer,—a worker? I say, No,— a thousand times No! Rather would we suffer the pangs of hunger for a time, when we are convinced that our temporary pain will give us at least a little relief from the overbearing tyranny, and a better opportunity to help in the struggle for amelioration in the condition and final emancipation of the toiling masses. Thanks to our trades unions, however, through the accumulation of a good fund in our treasuries, we need not enter into a strike as often as we otherwise would be compelled to, in order to resist oppression or secure improved conditions; nor need we suffer the pangs of hunger when engaged in a strike.

Strikes, as I have said, are but one of the manifestations — ay, only the outward manifestations — of the Trades union movement. Inquire from corporations and employers generally. Apply for the information from the Bureaus of Labor Statistics or the Trade unions, and, with strange accord, answers will come that the greatest work is accomplished, and that matters of wages, hours, rules, and other conditions of labor, are secured without resort to strikes. These concessions, wrested from the employing and capitalistic class every day, are ever going on, unheeded and unheralded, and form the great evolutionary force that builds up and develops a sturdy and a nobler manhood.

I have used the word "combatants." Such, indeed, we are, in all that the word implies. Against us we find arrayed a host guarded by special privilege, buttressed by legalized trusts, fed by streams of legalized monopolists, picketed by gangs of legalized "Pinkertons," and having in reserve thousands of embryo employers who, under the name of "Militia," are organized, uniformed, and armed for the sole purpose of holding the discontented in subservient bondage to iniquitous conditions. Already in many States the skirmish lines have met, again illustrating the fundamental fact of all progressive civilization: that the battle formerly

drawn between religious and political opponents is, in our time, to be fought to a finish upon purely economic grounds. And in these sporadic skirmishes we again face old foes in new uniforms; the oppressor relying upon militant measures, which differ only in kind from those maintained by his mediæval prototype, the male baronial lord,— while the oppressed, forced by adverse circumstance to unite for self-protection, calmly present a solid front, and refuse to do their enemies' bidding.

Combatants? Yes, self-defence is ever a virtue, and only such acts as are forced upon us do we accept; but it is a contest in which the Industrial Army knows no surrender. It is needless to dilate upon the time-worn calumny that we are opposing Capital. On the contrary, we only regret that Capital is so hedged in with monopolistic privilege, utilized to oppress, that the toiler is forced into economic subjection to its legalized holders. Trusting to the valiant spirit of the Industrial Army, a spirit born of the everlasting *Zeitgeist*,— the genius of the age,— knowing that we are carrying the standard for which men in all ages have suffered exile, imprisonment, and death by rack and stake and gibbet,— we still press on, holding a higher vantage-ground than ever in the past, and determined to "fight it out on this line" till the last enemy of industrial freedom is routed, and economic emancipation secured to a free and independent people, who, knowing their rights, will dare defend them against lords of either high or low degree.

While mistakes may be made and too often hasty action taken, as is ever the case in great contests, it is not our duty to carry aid and comfort to the enemy by prematurely condemning our overzealous videttes. The struggle, as I have tried to show, is not of to-day only, but the bequest of time; and in taking up the burden laid upon us we should ever, while protecting our present interests, have the glorious vision of the future which even the present organization of the American Federation of Labor but dimly outlines.

Finally, unity of action we have; determination and grit have been manifested; fixity of purpose is our bond of federated union. What more do we require? Nothing but to maintain the same zeal and an intensified earnestness in the knowledge of the justice and ultimate success of our common cause, when

> "Each man finds his own in all men's good,
> And all men work in noble brotherhood."

Then, paraphrasing the words of a popular play,

> "The World is Ours."

3. TRADES-UNIONS AND WAGES.

BY PROFESSOR JEREMIAH W. JENKS, OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

It is too late in the nineteenth century for one to doubt the right of existence of trades-unions, or to discuss the question of their success or failure. All such questions have been settled both in the Old World and the New; and we know that trades-unions are one of the conditions of business, one of the facts of industrial society to-day. It may still, however, be worth our while, inasmuch as the trades-unions throughout the world have not yet succeeded in attaining fully their purposed ends, to attempt to forecast in some slight degree what it is possible for them to accomplish, and especially to note under what conditions their success is to be attained, and what the interest of society, as a whole, is to be in this success.

We may fairly pass by without consideration what the condition of laborers might be if the productive capital were in the hands of the State, and the product of capital and labor were divided according to some ideal socialistic system. Whatever interest such plans may have, and however suggestive, especially from an ethical standpoint, they may be, for the present and for the immediate future, at least, they are of little practical value.

It is also beside the immediate purpose of this paper to discuss at any length the possibilities open to workingmen through co-operative and profit-sharing enterprises. It may be said, however, that as fast as employers, on the one hand, are willing to make an earnest attempt to educate their men industrially and to trust them sufficiently to enable them to show of what mettle they are made, profit-sharing is destined to play a great rôle in business enterprises requiring large capital; while, on the other hand, in industries requiring little capital, co-operation is to bring into far more thrifty circumstances the laborers who have the sobriety and self-control and unselfishness to use to advantage the tool that it puts into their hands. Trades-unions are doing something in this line already. In this field, however, a beginning only has been made; and trades-unions might do much good by seeing to it that their

members learn just what has been done and under what conditions. Few unions would do well, possibly, in starting productive co-operative enterprises; but not a few unions have in their membership many who could be trained to a better system than the present one by full knowledge of what has been accomplished in co-operation.

But, after all, the trades-unions were established and exist to-day with especial reference to the wages system and to the relations existing between employers and workingmen; and, while we may recognize the good that is done by the sick benefits, insurance funds, etc., it still remains the chief purpose of the unions to put their members on an equality with their employers in the discussion of any question affecting wages, and to secure higher wages and shorter hours of labor whenever opportunity offers, as well as to get whatever other benefits are attainable in the way of safer and more comfortable working conditions. Let us then attempt to trace briefly the general principles that determine the possible success of the unions in their efforts to raise wages or to shorten the hours of labor, and that show upon whom the burden of these increased wages must fall, if upon any one.

Writers from the trades-unions' standpoint are accustomed to call attention to the very material increase in the wages of laborers throughout the civilized world during the past twenty-five years as a proof of the efficiency of the unions. Writers on the other side deny that the unions have brought about the increase, but ascribe it rather to "natural agencies"; *i.e.*, particularly to the increased productivity of labor that comes from improved machinery and improved methods of production. Doubtless both sides are in part right. Wages could not have risen so much, had it not been for the increased productivity of labor (for, say what we may about the theory of distribution, the productivity of the laborer is still the decisive element in determining his wages); but, again, had it not been for the pressure that the trades-unions have brought to bear upon the employers, the increased productiveness would have manifested itself in lower prices — as it has done, indeed, in good part — rather than in higher wages. The trades-unions deserve the credit, doubtless, of putting a greater pressure upon the employer in many an instance than did his competitors, and consequently of securing for their members wealth that otherwise would have gone to consumers.

An increase in wages must come from one of three sources:

from the profits of the employer; from the pockets of the consumer, in the higher prices he pays for his product; or from the workingman himself, as he produces more by making his work more efficient. Advocates of trades-unions, so far as my observation goes, are very apt to overestimate the richness of the first source of supply and to underestimate the third, while the second is not carefully considered.

It is natural that workingmen dealing directly with wealthy employers, and often in a contest with them, should feel that the employers are putting into their own pockets wrongfully large sums of money that might as well be divided among the workingmen; but, in reality, this is the case only rarely. It is generally true that profits in the strict sense of the word — the world over — are small and are gradually decreasing. The employers of labor are not very common who are making out of their business more than a fair rate of interest on the capital invested and fair wages for their own work of superintendence. The few that make more than this are in great part, if not entirely, offset by the many that are making less. So far, then, as unions hope for any great increase of wages to be taken from employers' profits, they will be disappointed. And yet they will do well to watch for just this source of increased wages; for it will frequently lead to good returns from the second one mentioned, the consumers.

Employers are always glad to increase their profits, even for a short time; and they are slow to increase wages until it is necessary. "I should have to increase my superintendent's wages to $2,500 a year if he asked for it," said a large employer of labor to me some months since; "but, so long as he doesn't know what he is worth, I shall not take the pains to enlighten him." The same feeling holds, naturally enough, with reference to all the grades of workingmen. When a strong demand for goods sets in and prices rise, profits of course increase also. But they will not long remain high. Unless the workingmen, by an insistent demand at the right time, secure the surplus, competition among the employers will soon force prices and profits down, and there will be no surplus. But, if a union is broad enough in its membership so that a demand for increased wages will strike all alike, the laborers, by a vigorous demand, can secure a good part of this surplus,— not indeed permanently, at the cost of the employers, for their large profits would soon cease anyway,— but rather at the cost of the consumers; for, the cost of production being increased by the rise in

wages, prices will remain higher than would otherwise have been the case. Part of the increase, to be sure, has come from profits; but the permanent source of the higher wages is the permanently higher prices.

And this leads to a brief consideration of the influence of employers' unions, or of trusts and combines, on the wages question. While, of course, as has been said, employers are not likely voluntarily to raise the wages of their workingmen, it is nevertheless true that an employer who is making good profits is generally willing to accede to a reasonable request of his men, if he can do so with safety. Or, at any rate, to speak well within the mark, he will increase wages rather than bring on a conflict. If, however, he thinks that the high prices which are bringing him his good profits are only temporary, and that his competitors will soon bring them down, he cannot afford to increase wages unless his competitors do likewise. Now, an employers' union, while it has stronger resisting power against a laborers' union, has also a much greater influence over prices than has a single employer; and wages might, in some instances, be more easily raised throughout a whole district, in a certain industry, than by two or three employers acting alone. A striking instance of this kind occurred some three or four years ago, when the Whiskey Trust, that had secured practical control of the market, readily raised the prices that they paid for barrels and coal, so that the wages of coopers and miners might be increased. Before the formation of the trust, prices, and in consequence wages, had been so low that strikes and labor disturbances were frequent. The coopers and miners testify that the trust voluntarily gave them terms that were not and could not be granted by individual distillers. It may well be that the desire of the trust to stand well with the public, on account of the popular outcry against combinations, had something to do with the readiness with which the increase was granted; but the important fact is that the trust was in a condition to grant a request that individual competitors would have been compelled to refuse, even at the risk of a strike.

A sufficiently strong combination of workingmen could often, then, much more readily get concessions from a combination that has, in good part, control of the market than from individuals. The same fact appears, in a somewhat different way, when we consider the origin of the courts of arbitration and agreement that in England, under the leadership of Mr. Mundella in Nottingham

and of Mr. Rupert Kettle in Wolverhampton, have worked so successfully. Such courts — that have effectually done away with strikes, not one having occurred since their establishment — presuppose a strong combination of laborers on the one hand and of employers on the other, in order that wages may be regulated throughout a locality for several or all competing employers, and also that the pressure of a common public sentiment may be brought to bear to enforce the decision of the courts.

It will readily be seen that the trades-unions, in fact, will find it impossible to force up their wages to any material extent with the prospect of holding them, unless there is united action from some reason or other on the part of employers also. Without this, competition would bankrupt the man who first made concessions. The extent of this united action of employers will of course depend upon the nature of the business. Bakers, butchers to some extent, and all those whose products are for local consumption, have practical control of their market, and only those of the locality need unite; while such trades as the iron trade, sugar-refining, distilling, etc., extend throughout the country, and in many cases have to deal with foreign competition as well, so that in many instances a combination of all the employers in the country might not be able to control the prices of their products, and consequently to make concessions to wage-earners. It should not be forgotten, also, that, even where employers have control of the market, they may not be able to meet the demands of laborers, however strongly they might desire to do so. An increase in prices would frequently so reduce consumption that the net income would be lessened, and wages would have to be lowered instead of raised. A monopoly of the necessaries of life might in this way work benefit to employers and laborers, when a monopoly of some luxury could have no such effect.

It is, then, often possible for trades-unions to secure an increase of wages that is, for a short time, paid from a fund that would otherwise go to profits. It is also possible for them, especially if there is a union of employers, or concerted action among them without formal union, to get increased wages that are in reality paid by the consumers; but the extent of the increase will seldom be great at any one time, and will always, in even the most favorable cases, be limited by the effect of the increased price upon the demand for the goods.

But now, before taking up the question of the interest of society

in these different cases, let us note briefly the third source of increased wages; *i.e.*, the increased productivity of the laborers themselves. I am persuaded that the trades-unions have a field here that they can cultivate more than is at present done, with really excellent results.

One of the chief sources of complaint on the part of employers is that laborers are careless, think little of saving, and show little forethought, even when they cannot be said to be unfaithful. This carelessness occasions much direct loss, besides being the source of a greatly increased expenditure for superintendence. Employers would willingly increase wages for greater care or diligence if the result appeared in the product. The experiments in profit-sharing show how great this saving may be. For some years the Pillsburys, the great millers in Minneapolis, have divided all their profits above a certain fixed percentage among their most faithful and responsible employees. This has amounted to an increase of wages by about one-third in a number of years; and they say that they make money by so doing. The increased care and diligence of the men earn it all, and more. Many firms that have adopted the system of profit-sharing testify to a similar experience. In Australia, in a number of instances, the change from a ten-hour day to an eight-hour day was accomplished without lessening the product and with practically no increase in the number of hands. In no case, perhaps, was the increase in the number of hands proportionate to the reduction in time. The men worked with greater care and energy. A prominent lumber firm in Cleveland pays its yard men, unskilled laborers, who are simply handling lumber, not all at the same rate, but at rates varying from $1.00 to $1.50 a day, the wages depending upon the general character of the man as a laborer. If a man is dissatisfied because his wages are less than those of another doing the same kind of work, he is told to watch his fellow's work, and that as soon as he does as much and does it as well, his wages will be made equal. Men working in a factory, where machinery sets the rate of speed in good part, and where most careful supervision reduces waste to a minimum, could increase their product least, though here even much might be done; but any one who watches men engaged in labor knows well enough that by extra diligence and care in very many cases they could do more, even twenty-five per cent. more, frequently, without injury to themselves, if they only willed it. Under present conditions, with dissatisfied feelings toward their employer, instead of trying to in-

crease their efficiency, they frequently are rather careful not to earn more than their wages. They cannot, perhaps, under existing conditions, will to do more and better work; but, if their employers could be sure they would do this more efficient work, they would gladly pay the higher wages. Unions could at least make more of an attempt to educate their members in this line than they have done. I have known of one case — among skilled workmen in a planing mill — where the mere presence and general guidance of a boss at times added one-half to the work done when he was not present. Employers say that it is next to impossible to find a man as boss who knows what a fair day's work is and who can get men to do it. And yet each man ought to know that (what a fair day's work is) for himself and to be willing to do it. Even the wages question, it seems, is a moral question at bottom. Neither party is quite faithful enough to be willing to trust the other. The laborer will work better in most cases when his wages are raised, we know. He ought to be willing to work better to get his wages raised; and, again, employers, as was said in connection with profit-sharing, might wisely trust their men much oftener than they do in this respect.

The question of an eight-hour day, of course, involves these same principles. Unless by their greater freshness and intelligence in work, as a result of their greater leisure, the men add to their efficiency enough to compensate for the two hours lost, the loss in time has to be borne either by the employers or by the public at large. In few cases only and for short times will the employers carry the burden. They will rather be able to pass it on to the consumers. The unions will be able to carry out this reform — if we call it a reform — only by having the grace or the strength, as the case may be, to increase their efficiency to this extent or to compel the public, through their employers, to furnish this extra pay in relatively higher prices. Probably the burden will be, in the main, divided. The increased pressure of a threatened strike doubtless increases the efficiency of employers also, frequently; but laborers usually take to themselves and the influence of their unions too much credit for improvements in machinery and other improvements in methods of production made by their employers. An employer is always looking for the opportunity to lessen the cost of production. A threatened strike or an increase in wages may add a little extra stimulus; but the desire and effort are always present. [It should perhaps be noted that,

when "higher prices" are spoken of, the expression may not mean prices higher than they were before the increase of wages or shortening of hours, but rather prices higher than they would have been without this change in wages or hours. The change may simply prevent a lowering of prices.]

And now, briefly, what interest has society as a whole in these various ways by which through the influence of trades-unions wages may be increased or hours of labor lessened?

It is frequently argued — and with some plausibility — that it is for the economic interest of society that, after the workingmen have sufficient wages to enable them to maintain a standard of life that will keep them healthy, any further surplus should remain in the hands of the employers as profits; for, it is said, employers will invest their capital profitably, while workingmen, having each only a small sum, will expend it in useless luxuries,— practically waste it. The charge is doubtless often true; and, if it were generally so, it would be against the interest of society for workingmen to receive increased wages at the expense of the employers. But, on the other hand, employers also frequently expend large sums in useless and wasteful luxury; and, again, whatever part of the wages of workingmen is placed in savings-banks, or is expended by themselves productively, is economically as well spent as if it were invested by the employer, while all that goes to elevate their standard of life, intellectually or æsthetically or morally, is from the social standpoint more wisely expended. Now, there is reason to believe that this last class of expenditure by workingmen is rapidly increasing, and that, as wages continue to increase, it will grow in a still greater proportion; and especially is it probably true that trades-unions, though they might wisely do more, do still exert a powerful influence in this direction. If so, it is certainly best that wages be increased, so far as may be, even at the expense of the employer, so long, of course, as he is not forced into bankruptcy.

And, even when the increase of wages is paid by the consumer in higher prices, the same thing will be true in most cases. So far, of course, as the laborer himself is a consumer of his own product, this increase in the price of the goods will lessen the increase in his real wages; but a part of the goods produced by the labor of members of trades-unions are consumed by others, and frequently, usually perhaps, by classes better able to pay higher prices. So far, then, an increase in wages paid in higher

prices tends toward a more equal distribution of wealth, and that in a way that is natural and normal. On the other side, of course, we shall at times find consumers burdened by the higher prices who are, on the whole, less able to bear them than the unionists themselves. This is relatively rarely the case. A general rise in wages (if we may suppose a case that in actual life, if realized at all, comes only very gradually) that is thus paid in higher prices would result, it may be seen, in a transfer of a part of the wealth of other classes to the wage-earners; for the other classes consume always a part, though perhaps a relatively small part of the product. In this instance, then, so far as the workingmen make as wise a use of their increase in wages as would the general mass of consumers,—and this is generally the case, doubtless,— society as a whole is also benefited by the increase in wages, though many individuals will suffer. The ideal industrial condition, then, for the wage-earners — and I am not at all sure that it would not prove to be best, too, for society as a whole, as the wage-earners make up so large a part of it — would be monopoly prices, with wages high enough to keep profits at a minimum.

An increase in wages, now, that comes from increased efficiency of the workingmen, has no drawback at all. Indeed, not only are the workingmen themselves benefited without injury to any one else, but the increased capital thus produced will have a tendency still farther to increase their own wages and those of their fellows.

If the foregoing analysis of the sources of an increase of wages and of the amount that it is possible for workingmen to achieve by acting through trades-unions is correct, surely the field of achievement is great enough. Under ideal conditions, it includes but little less than the entire increase in production of an advancing civilization, from whatever source this increase may come, while it also shows us that workingmen have it continually within their power to add directly to this increase in production. But we can only reflect that as yet trades-unions are far from their ideal condition, though we may also note that they are surely and steadily working thitherward. To enable trades-unions to reach forward more rapidly toward this continued increase in wages,— which, indeed, as was intimated at first, really includes in itself all the other social and moral benefits that trades-unions seek by their union,— they need, first of all, to have at their command, though, of course, not every member of the union need possess it, a business knowledge and judgment equal to that of their em-

ployers. It is encouraging to note that unions are more and more getting this knowledge, and that in some of the best equipped unions, in lines of business where market reports are regular and available, the relations between prices and wages and profits are thoroughly understood by the members, to their great advantage, as well as to the safety of the employers. Such a knowledge enables them to take advantage promptly of increased prices or of reduced cost of production, while it at the same time prevents them from foolishly precipitating unnecessary conflicts, as has been so frequently done.

But for the best success of the unions, in the long run, it is also desirable that the employers be associated. When both parties are well organized, we may first look for the settlement and prevention of disputes between them by courts of arbitration and agreement, that shall render full justice to laborers without oppressing employers or checking the productivity of either, as is now so frequently the case. It is interesting and pleasing to note that this condition, too, sometimes from one purpose, sometimes from another, is also coming.

But before harmonious action of the two classes can be expected there is yet much conflict before them in this country. The trades-unions should not forget that in no way can they prevent these conflicts so well as by the exhibition of moral force and energy that shall convince employers that they are really trustworthy in the fullest sense of the word: in no way can they so readily increase their wages as by deliberately increasing their productivity; and I should perhaps add that for this result greater care and faithfulness are required rather than greater speed or strength. Furthermore, it is equally certain that, where conflict is inevitable, in the attainment of their cherished ends of higher wages or shorter hours, this same moral energy and will is requisite in other ways. The tendency of the present day is to rely too much upon legislation, too little upon one's own efforts. If there is one lesson that the history of trades-unions teaches more emphatically than any other, it is this of self-reliance. In the past their influence toward raising wages, toward shortening hours of labor, toward elevating themselves in all ways, has been gained, even the recognition of their very right to existence has been secured, not by relying upon legislatures, though at times they have been useful, but by fixing their will upon one just end at a time, and making what sacrifices might be necessary to accomplish that. In Australia, to get an

eight-hour day, they had at times to take lower wages, and they took them, to accomplish what they considered a higher purpose, trusting to the future to regain them, which they also did. As it has been in the past, so it will be in the future. The possibilities of trades-unions are great; but the victories will be won only through long struggle, and then only when well merited and well earned by daily faithfulness and daily care. And this is right.

> "He only earns his freedom and existence
> Who daily conquers them anew."

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY.

BY FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY, OF WATERBURY, CT.

The literature of Labor Organization is so extensive, and the subject has become so specialized in treatment, that it seemed to me difficult to say anything in regard to it, within the limits of the time at my disposal, which should be worth presenting, unless I could confine what I had to say to some one point or aspect of the question. And, therefore, it has occurred to me that I might occupy a few minutes not unprofitably by recapitulating, mainly from my own recollection, some of the changes that have taken place in the development of a single industry. It is changes of this sort which have rendered possible, if they have not made necessary, the modern labor organization.

I have taken for this purpose the business of the manufacture of boots and shoes, showing, perhaps, as marked changes as any, although the history of the manufacture of several other articles, as, for instance, hats and clothing, would be very similar.

Sixty years ago nothing that could be called machinery was in use in the manufacture of shoes, and ready-made shoes, as an article of trade, were but little known. Every village had its shoemaker, who supplied every grade and variety desired. He measured the customer's foot, drawing his sharp knife in what seemed dangerous proximity to the boys' toes, commonly using for a measure folded strips of paper, whose dimensions were afterwards transferred, by cabalistic signs, to the order book. He prepared the last, by divers piecings and parings, to suit the idiosyncrasy of the individual foot. He selected from his stock the leather suitable for the purpose. He furnished all the material and he did all the work, except the binding, which was done by the women of his own or his neighbor's family, and thus laid the foundation of many a small fortune, as well as of some very respectable poetry.

He not only furnished the leather and made the shoe, but he prepared much of what might be regarded as his raw material. He made his own wax, boiling the tar and resin out of doors, in an

iron kettle, upon an extemporized stone fireplace, dexterously smothering it with his lap-board when it took fire, which it was very apt to do. He boiled his own rye-flour paste, watching and stirring it, to prevent its burning, until just the right consistency was attained. He sawed his own peg blocks, selecting therefor a piece of fine and straight-grained sugar maple, from which the pegs were deftly split with diamond-shaped heads, and sharpened as required. He made his own waxed thread, twisted of many strands, and terminated by a bristle, which was skilfully split and intertwined with, and then passed through, the thread to preserve the twist. He made his own blacking, both liquid and solid, and doubtless did many other things which I have forgotten, but which then constituted part of the art and mystery of a shoemaker's trade.

In agricultural communities, where the population was sparse and the dwellings isolated, it was the custom to have the shoes for the family made in the house. For this purpose the shoemaker went about from house to house, remaining in each family until its work was done. These men who went from house to house were known as "cat-whippers." But this name was not peculiar to shoemakers: it was also applied to tailors who went about in a similar manner, and perhaps to people of other trades. It was the method, and not the calling, to which the phrase was applied. Of its origin or meaning I know nothing. The workman's tools were called a kit, but I do not believe any relation existed between the "cat" and the "kit." Two such visits a year usually kept the family sufficiently well shod. The materials in this case were not supplied by the shoemaker, but by the person for whom the work was done. The leather, perhaps, was that made from the hides of animals which he had raised and slaughtered for his own use, the skin of which had been subsequently sent to the neighboring tannery, there to be tanned into such leather as might be required for family use; and the other materials were procured as occasion required. This sort of life presents to us a picture of independent interdependence which is not lacking in idyllic simplicity, whatever else may be said for or against it.

The located village shoemakers, especially in the small villages, generally did their work in their own houses, and frequently cultivated a small farm, to which they gave the necessary labor during the summer months, and followed shoemaking during the remainder of the year; sometimes utilizing their time by making a few shoes for sale, which were disposed of to neighboring merchants.

After a while certain enterprising persons began the manufacture of shoes for sale in the market as a business, the Southern States at that time furnishing the principal market. These manufacturers were scattered about in various country towns, which thus became centres for this particular industry. They had usually a central shop where a number of hands were employed where the cutting was done and the work given out and received when completed. The greater portion of the work was given out to people who worked in their own homes. But the inauguration of this method of manufacture quickly led to a division of labor. Individuals developed aptitudes for special kinds of work, and it was found that a man working constantly in one particular branch could accomplish more than when he attempted all departments. Some were employed upon fine boots, others on those of a coarser grade; and in boots alone there were usually at least three grades.

The same division held in men's shoes and the same in women's; while pumps, slippers, and children's shoes, known in the language of the trade as "cacks," each had a department to themselves. The next step was separating the different parts and processes of the same boot or shoe, so that now crimpers, lasters, closers, binders, and bottomers were developed as separate industries for the several classes above named; and it soon came to pass that they became really separate trades, in which no one workman fully understood, or was expert in any but his own department, and the services of all were necessary to complete a single boot or shoe. I may have omitted some of these processes which came to be regarded as separate trades; but, taking those I have enumerated, it shows a total of sixty persons employed in producing a result which was formerly produced by one. This takes no account of the manufacture of wax, paste, blacking, and pegs, each of which became a separate department. Under proper management, however, these sixty persons probably produced considerably more than sixty times as many shoes as were produced by one in the old method, at a cost to the consumer certainly of no more, and with a compensation to the workman, on the average, greater.

This state of the trade continued until the introduction of the sewing-machine, and its application to the manufacture of boots and shoes. This to a great extent revolutionized the business, and put it on the footing of strict factory work. So far as the consumer is concerned, but little change seems to have taken place. I am not an expert, but I should say that the price of the

same quality of boots and shoes is not materially different from what it was fifty years ago. Shoes are, on the whole, as good and no better than they were then. I seem to remember a period, say about thirty years ago, probably a little before the war, when good shoes could be purchased for less money than at any time before or since. But this fact, if it be a fact, was probably due to causes temporary in their nature and having no special bearing on the history of the industry.

Now, I desire to speak with modesty, and to admit that my opportunity for intimate acquaintance with the operatives of the shoe factories is limited (never having lived where this was a leading industry); but, from such observation as I have had and from such knowledge as I have been able to gain in other ways, I am decidedly of opinion that the change which I have just recounted has been accompanied, nearly *pari passu*, by a deterioration of the workmen employed in the business — in character, in social position, in morals, and relatively in comfort of living, as compared with those who live best in the same community, notwithstanding that the wages received for time spent or labor performed are greater — I should say much greater — and the hours of labor are certainly very much less.

In those earlier times of which I have spoken, when the village shoemaker had his bench in his own home and supplied the wants of his neighbors, although there was "odds" in shoemakers, as it has always been admitted that there is liable to be in deacons, the social position of many of these shoemakers was as good as that of anybody in the community in which they lived. They were the deacons of the churches, sometimes, indeed, the local preachers, justices of the peace, grand jurymen, town clerks, selectmen, school committees, members of the legislature, militia officers, captains, majors, colonels, and generals. They sent their sons to college, their daughters to academies and schools of high grade. Their lives were plain and simple, but so were the lives of all about them. They read and they thought. The shoemaker's shop of those days was a school of politics and theology. A man could hammer out a sole while he discussed the five points of Calvinism, and accentuate each conclusion in his argument by an extra hard blow of his hammer; while a heated discussion of General Jackson's attitude toward "The Bank" was apt to result in the rupture of the thread of a shoe, if not in the thread of an argument.

Neither was science disregarded. The latest books on astronomy, geology, and such other sciences as were then attracting attention, were read with avidity, and discussed in the shoemaker's shop with intelligence. Many a distinguished man, in the pulpit, at the bar, or in the scientific professions, began his education in the workshop, and could doubtless trace his first mental expansion and intellectual stimulus to these homely discussions over the daily task. To the boys of the neighborhood the shoemaker's shop, in the long winter evenings, was the gymnasium (in the German sense), the school of technology and applied science, the club and the university, all in one. There they covered their balls and made their slings; there they saw old journeymen crack hickory nuts on their naked knees; there they sharpened their wits on arithmetical puzzles and historical conundrums, and listened to political and theological discussions, and to more or less true tales of Revolutionary battles and personal adventure; there they played checkers, "fox-and-geese," and "twelve-men's-morris," marking the forms for these latter games with chalk upon a lap-board, and playing with black and yellow corn, the black being the yellow smoked in the lamp. Doubtless they saw and learned a good many things not absolutely essential to their mental and moral development, but, on the whole, not much harm was done; and, if there is within the sound of my voice a man who was raised in the neighborhood of a shoemaker's shop of the old-fashioned kind, I am not in the least afraid to appeal to him to say whether some of the most profitable, as well as pleasantest, of his youthful hours were not spent within its walls,—not counting in, either, the hickory nuts, cider, and roasted apples that helped to lubricate the ways of knowledge. Even now I fancy that I can smell the oil-lamps as the workman picked them up with his awl. Neither was discipline wanting. The shoemaker's strap had its wholesome virtues, and there was not the slightest hesitation in using it whenever occasion seemed to demand. The connection between wrong-doing and punishment was not apt to be lost sight of for want of object-lessons.

Now, the workmen of to-day can get almost without price books and lectures and means of instruction such as these men never dreamed of. He has better clothes and more of them; his children have opportunities for better instruction; he lives in a better house, and he probably has more and better things to eat. He certainly has more to drink; and he has more amusements, games,

shows, plays, and diversions of all sorts. Why is he not as much of a man and as valuable a citizen as his prototype? Dr. Harris has, on a former occasion, pointed out to us how a minute division of hand-labor tends to deterioration in the workman, while in machine-work the contrary result may be expected. I should say, from observation, that the deterioration in this case began with the subdivision of labor. Perhaps it came from that, and there has not been time for the reaction under the factory system. I wish to say, however, that I have no confidence myself in the value of that suggestion.

I have an impression, too, that the class of men who have been brought to the front as managers and employers of labor, captains of industry, have been more conspicuous for their energy and success than for a broad general intelligence. I would not have it inferred, however, that this remark is more applicable to this than to other industries which our modern civilization has developed.

The workman under the old *régime* was not by any means always satisfied nor entirely happy. He wanted more than he got, and he grumbled because he did not get it. If, however, a strike or a hostile combination had been suggested as a remedy, he would have quoted Æsop, and said that he was not such a fool as to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. I am not saying that he would have been right in his argument. It is history that I am trying to write.

Does the workman of to-day come, on the whole, from a less intelligent and intellectually developed portion of the community than formerly? So far as he is an American, and except to the extent that the very process I am speaking of may have lowered his standard, I should say, No! So far as he is a foreigner, probably, Yes! It is also to be noted that, while our present hours of labor are shorter, our work is more intense than formerly. In the modern workroom there is no time or opportunity for discussion or conversation. There is no leisure for amusing or instructing boys. Boys themselves, except as workers, are not permitted. There are no arguments, no studies, no puzzles, no problems. No play is mingled with the work, nothing that tends to expand the faculties or broaden the mental outlook beyond the thing in hand. The workman becomes less of a man and more of a machine.

May not this be at least a partial solution of the change? And, if it is, may not organization do something in the way of counteracting or counterbalancing this tendency? To see the nature

and seat of the evil is to suggest the remedy. Restore the social feature,— not *in* the workshop (for that is no longer possible), but *out* of it, in the holiday and the evening club ; and let the object be to replace the thing which has been lost,— namely, cheerful conversation, intelligent discussion, sympathy with the rising generation ; a pure and intelligent interest in boys, their pastimes and their training. In some such way as this perhaps it may be possible to replace what we have lost,— the moral, social, and educational training of the old handicraft workshop. It is certainly worth getting back again at any reasonable cost.

5. "WISDOM IS BETTER THAN WEAPONS OF WAR."—*Ecclesiastes.*

BY MRS. C. R. LOWELL, OF NEW YORK.

There are civilized and uncivilized methods of settling all disputes that arise between men. Two neighbors, whose daily happiness depends very much upon their relations to each other, may choose any one of four courses when their interests seem to clash.

1. They may talk over their common affairs in a friendly spirit, each anxious to be just and to give due weight to the arguments of his neighbor; and with mutual good-will and forbearance they will settle any question which may arise between them, not only without any breach of their friendship but with added respect and affection for each other, and it will each day become more difficult for them to quarrel on account of the mutual confidence which their closer acquaintance has engendered.

2. They may submit a question in dispute to the decision of a common friend, and may accept in good faith his decision; and their relation will be improved by this experience also, if each has shown a desire that justice should be done.

3. They may go to law, but they will not love each other the better for that.

4. They may fight it out, in which case the weaker is likely to be beaten, regardless of the justice of his cause, and they will hate each other, welcome every means to annoy each other, and will be very likely to fight again whenever a chance offers.

The first three may be classified as civilized methods of settling a difference: the last is certainly uncivilized. All four methods have been used to settle disputes between Capital and Labor.

Strikes and lockouts are the "fight it out" method, which usually decides nothing except the relative strength of the combatants for the moment, and tends to leave both sides angry and bitter and ready to try again upon any or no pretext. The exception is when the fight has been so desperate, so nearly a fight to the death, that both sides are exhausted, and are convinced at last

that uncivilized methods are also unwise methods; in which case the strike and lockout will have performed so good a part, will have taught so good a lesson, that those particular men will turn to one or other of the civilized methods of settling their differences, and the strike and lockout in that particular trade will be a thing of the past. Strikes and lockouts are sometimes necessary, as it is sometimes necessary to knock a man down before he will listen to reason.

Of the civilized methods which have been tried, the procedure of the official Courts of Arbitration of France, the "Conseils des Prud'hommes," amounts practically to settlement by law, and is an immense improvement on the strike and lockout. These Courts, of which there are now 136 in France, settled about 42,000 disputes in 1890. They are composed of an equal number of employers and workmen, and their decisions are binding.

Good as they are, however, the voluntary Boards of Arbitration in England seem to be still better, because they are voluntary, and require, therefore, the exercise of nobler qualities, both in the men who compose them and in those who abide by their decisions. They, like the French "Conseils," are composed of an equal number of employers and workmen, who submit the question in dispute to an umpire. Such Boards have prevented strikes and lockouts, in some of the largest trades, for years.

The Boards of Conciliation are, however, superior to all other means so far tried for maintaining peace between Capital and Labor, and require also a superior class of men to carry them on; for there must be a real love of justice on both sides, and the strongest determination to allow no petty feelings, no personal or class jealousies, to destroy the good understanding which must exist between the representatives of the two parties interested.

The Boards of Conciliation are only a means by which the matters of mutual interest to employers and employed — not yet having become matters of difference — may be talked over in a friendly spirit, with the object of *preventing* trouble. Their great value lies in the fact that meetings are held when there are no difficulties to be settled, and therefore when there is no antagonism. They are composed of equal numbers of employers and employed, who meet at regular intervals to hear questions submitted to them from either side. Mr. Mundella, M.P., who founded the first Board of Conciliation (as distinct from a Board of Arbitration) in his own trade of hosiery, in 1860, speaks thus of the result:*—

*Boards of Conciliation in Labor Disputes. By J. Samuelson. 1891.

"Strikes and lockouts are unknown. Contact has developed respect. The changed relation of employer and employed has been recognized. They have met at the same table as equals, and out of this has grown a condition of affairs that will make it impossible for the old conditions to return."

Mr. Mundella attributes the changed relations to the regular quarterly meetings of the Board.

Almost all the Boards established within the past twenty years, in England, have been "Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration"; that is, they provide for an appeal to an umpire in case of non-agreement in the Board itself. Perhaps the most remarkably successful of these Boards is that of the North of England Iron Trade, founded in 1869, which represents thousands of men and nearly two thousand furnaces, and which for twenty-one years has prevented strikes and lockouts in a trade where they were frequent in former years. In the last Report of this Board occur the following sentences: * —

"In considering the work of the Board since its formation on March 22d, 1869, the Committee feel assured it will be granted on all hands that the organization has been of immense benefit to the district embraced within the scope of its operations. Not only has it been an advantage to those engaged in the particular trade that is more immediately concerned with its decisions and arrangements, but it has been equally beneficial to all connected with those industries which are more or less closely related thereto. . . . Whilst admitting occasional departures from the rules and from the principles which govern the Board, it may be confidently anticipated that those struggles between capital and labor which this district has witnessed in years gone by are, with an institution like your Board in operation, a thing altogether of the past."

But to an American, however interesting and encouraging may be the history of the settlement of labor differences in France and England, the vital question is, what has been accomplished in our own country towards the adoption of civilized methods, and why have any other methods ever been allowed to obtain sway here,— in the country, as we please ourselves with thinking, the foremost in its love of justice and in intelligence? I propose to myself, in writing this paper, not a pleasant task, but one which I hope may prove to be of some use. My intention is to consider certain typical cases where arbitration has been attempted in this country and has failed, and to show the underlying causes of the failure.

* Boards of Conciliation in Labor Disputes. By J. Samuelson. 1891.

Let me premise that for many years labor organizations in America have been favorably inclined towards arbitration, theoretically at least, and in their published declarations of principles; the Knights of Labor, for instance, closing their "platform of principles" with the following statement: —

"To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary."

The employers, on the other hand, seem usually to have no theories on this most important subject. Their practice is purely empirical. Most of them have not, so far as appears, made a study of the peaceable settlement of labor difficulties and know but little of the history of the movement; and they are usually guided by their own wish or prejudice, or at least by their own unaided intelligence, in attempting to come to a conclusion in any given case.

The qualities which are required, in order to make possible a peaceable solution of a difference between an employer and his employees, are the same as those required in the case of individual men. There must be, on both sides, a desire not only for peace, but for justice. No man, or body of men, whose only idea is to get and keep all they can wrest, by stratagem or force, from others, can, in the nature of things, be a party to the peaceable adjustment of a question involving their own rights and interests in contest with those of others. The conception of justice is impossible to such minds. They look upon brute force as the only means by which any question can be settled, and they are themselves amenable to no other motive.

To take part in the peaceful settlement of a contest, where one's own interests are to be weighed against those of another, requires an advanced moral and intellectual development. A man must be willing, and he must also be able, to see the other side; he must be ready to be convinced; he must have sufficient mind to be able to understand the arguments put forward to convince him; and he must, moreover, have faith in the honor of others and a strong sense of honor himself.* "Though he promise to his hurt," he must "keep his promise good."

*A remarkable instance of this sense of honor was shown by the men in the North of England Iron Trade, who accepted a reduction of fifty per cent. in their wages, brought about by various decisions of the Board of Arbitration, during only eighteen months. This occurred within a few years of the formation of the Board, and was a tremendous test both of the honor and consistency of the men, and also of the power of the Board to prevent strikes.

This is a *sine qua non*, of course. A settlement is no settlement which can be unsettled at once; and unless there is a belief on both sides in the intention to live up to the agreement reached, and unless experience proves that the intention will be carried out, of course the first experiment in arbitration will also be the last, at least for a time, and until the necessary conditions have been created. One of the very interesting statements made concerning the Board of Arbitration of the North of England Iron Trade is that, at every hearing, each side is anxious that the other should know beforehand all the facts it has to present; also, that each side believes the statements of the other side, and believes, moreover, in the desire of the other side to do justice. This is, evidently, a very high stage of ethical development; and it is one which, although to a degree necessary, as I have said, for the first establishment of such a Board, has also been fostered by the twenty years' experience in the Board, for it is expressly stated that, in the beginning, the mutual trust was by no means of this noble character.

To repeat, besides intelligence, the moral qualities needed in the men who are to settle peaceably their differences with their fellowmen are love of justice, honor and faith. Since these, then, are the prerequisites for the successful establishment and working of Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, it can be neither grateful to our patriotism nor pleasant to our national vanity to know that, in too many cases in our country, such Boards have been tried and have failed. It would seem that we have been neither fair enough nor honest enough to maintain them. In many other cases, methods of conciliation have succeeded with us; but, as my present office is to draw a moral from some of the failures of attempts at conciliation and arbitration, I shall leave the successes to be considered by others, expressing, however, my deepest gratitude and respect for the men, whether employers or employed, who have shown the high qualities needed to inaugurate and carry through such undertakings.

In a pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, in 1881, are to be found some very important historical sketches of attempts in different parts of the country to create machinery for the fixing of wages and the adjustment of other questions arising between employers and employed. From among these I select four, beginning with an account of what occurred in Lynn in the shoemaking trade during the years 1870, 1871, and 1872.

The Knights of St. Crispin had been organized in 1864, in Milwaukee, and within the following four years had become very powerful throughout the country, especially in Lynn, where in 1868–69 they had a very great influence, and excited much opposition on the part of the manufacturers, by their claim to control the employment and discharge of men, and to interfere in all questions between the men and their employers. I shall now quote from the report of the agent of the Massachusetts Bureau given in the pamphlet referred to, condensing his statement very much, however. His intention is to give the facts, so far as he could gather them by conversation with many manufacturers and workmen, and, also, the opinions of both sides as to the facts and the causes that led to them.

"About the spring of 1870 many manufacturers, finding it impossible to prosecute their business with any certainty of success under the vexatious, unjust, and arrogant demands of the Crispin organization, determined to endeavor, by concert, to find some means by which they might free themselves. In this they professed to be influenced, not alone by motives of self-interest, but by a sincere regard for the best interests and welfare of their workmen. They saw very clearly that, unless something was done, trade would leave the city, as no manufacturer felt safe in taking orders for goods or in entering into contracts with dealers in boots and shoes. While these matters were under consideration and before any plans had been matured, one of the most eminent manufacturers in the city, without consultation and almost entirely on his own responsibility, by means of one of his own workmen, got himself invited into a meeting of one of the Crispin lodges, and there and then made a speech in which he commended their organization and its principles. Deploring the misunderstandings between employer and employee, he pledged his word that, if they would appoint a committee of five of their number, he would see that a like number of manufacturers were appointed to meet with them and talk over matters in an amicable manner, so that, if possible, some agreement might be reached which would be mutually satisfactory. In taking this unauthorized step, this gentleman was regarded by the other manufacturers as having betrayed their cause. His action excited considerable indignation among them, and the committee of five who finally met with the Crispin committee to arrange a scale of prices was self-appointed; but, being, all of them, prominent men in the business and large employers, their influence was such as to very much strengthen and encourage the Crispin organizations. The manufacturers felt that their interests had been betrayed and their attempted union broken up; yet they were obliged, as the best they could do under the circumstances, to adopt generally the scale of prices which had been

agreed upon by the so-called committees. They were, however, none the less restive under the arrogant and arbitrary demands of the Crispins, and indignant that any employers of labor should acknowledge the right of an employee to interfere with his business.

"In justice to this gentleman, it should be stated that he felt the steps taken by him were for the best interests of all concerned. He states that he has always tried to treat his workmen as equals, and has never been intentionally oppressive. The principle of arbitration inaugurated by him he believes to be just, and that it might be made an effectual means of settling all disputes if both parties could only be prevailed upon to carry it out in good faith. He regards some union of the workingmen as necessary for the protection of their own interests, and such union is, in many other respects, likely to be more or less advantageous to them; and, though at that time there was much in the Crispin organization which he could by no means approve, it was his idea that it would have been better for the interests of the whole city if employers, by adopting a kind and forbearing policy towards the workingmen, could have established a better understanding of each other's interests; and, when by mutual consultation and mutual concessions confidence and good feeling should have obtained, it would not have been difficult to change or abolish the most objectionable provisions of the Crispin organization. . . .

"The ideas of the workingmen are various; but they may be summed up into three classes, as follows: The first class are those who do not believe in arbitration with employers, who have seen nothing but what is right in the most rigorous rules the Crispins ever adopted, and who would willingly have adopted those more stringent. . . . A second class are of the opinion that a proper system of arbitration would do much to put an end to the disagreements between employers and operatives; . . . but, they say, under existing circumstances, such a scheme is altogether impracticable. Manufacturers generally are not sincere when they talk of justice to labor. . . . The arrangements made in 1870 were only agreed to because employers could not help themselves, and they were sure to be violated whenever interest demanded.

"The third class of workingmen, though perhaps not the most numerous, hold about the same sentiments as those expressed by the manufacturers previously quoted. They state that they have always been more than ready to welcome any overtures from the manufacturers looking towards arbitration in the settlement of disputes and difficulties. . . . They have always deplored strikes, and never gave consent to one, except as a last resort. When, therefore, arbitration was proposed by a leading manufacturer, the idea was hailed by them as a long step in the right direction; and they were ready to aid it by every means in their power. A mass meeting of the lodges was held; and, after some discussion, a committee of five was appointed to confer with a like number of manufacturers. On the 21st of July, 1870, these committees

met in the Board of Trade rooms. There seems to have been no record kept of the transactions of this meeting; but members on the part of the Crispins state that it was anything but harmonious, and that more than once rupture seemed imminent. One manufacturer made a speech, in the course of which he said that, if any one had told him twenty-four hours before that he could have been persuaded to meet and treat with Crispins on any terms, he should have felt insulted. Through the exertions of a few more temperate minds, however, a better spirit finally prevailed; and after much discussion, taking up two full days, a list of prices was agreed upon and adopted, to continue in force one year. The two committees then exchanged congratulations. Speeches were made by some of the manufacturers, in which they commended the Crispin organization, and pledged themselves to rigidly adhere to the agreement made, and to use every proper means in their power to have it recognized and adopted in the trade throughout the city. After this united action, several strikes which had been previously inaugurated came at once to an end. The Crispins were jubilant, and considered they had gained a point in being recognized by employers as a body to be negotiated with on equal terms; and much confidence was expressed on all sides that at length amicable relations had been established between the manufacturers and workingmen of Lynn.

"Notwithstanding the fault found with the self-appointed committee (so called), there is no doubt that for the time being, at all events, they were successful; and the list of prices agreed upon by them was substantially that of the trade throughout the city for the next year. It is charged, however, by members of the Crispins that they could nevet again get that board of arbitration to meet with them, that in the settlement of difficulties which now and then arose from various causes in several of the shops they received no aid or countenance from the employers. . . . Still, it is evident that the Lynn shoe manufacturers generally considered that during this year there had been established some principle of arbitration to which they felt themselves, to a great extent at least, obliged to conform.

"At the expiration of the time agreed upon another committee of employers met with the Crispin committee of arbitration. They congratulated each other upon the success which had attended the fulfilment of the agreement just ended, the general peace and harmony which had prevailed, and the prosperous condition of the city, after which a scale of prices was agreed to and adopted for another year (to June 10, 1872), which was subsequently printed and circulated through all the shops in Lynn. It is worthy of notice that during these two years, when a fixed rate of labor had been established by this joint committee, the shoe business prospered, and the active and material growth of Lynn was the subject of frequent and flattering comment, not only in the local press, but throughout the country. . . .

"Some of the most intelligent and reliable men who in 1872

were leading and prominent members of the order of St. Crispin state that shortly before the termination of the second compact it was evident to them that certain manufacturers were determined, if possible, to prevent any further agreements of that nature, and that in the spring of that year they united, with the resolute purpose of breaking up the Crispin organization. . . . Manufacturers, on the other hand, charge that Crispinism had become perfectly unbearable; that the Crispins, elated with success and full of self-confidence, became every day more and more unreasonable in their demands; that they were continually trumping up fresh grievances, and insisting upon conditions, not only inconvenient to employees, but tending, if carried out, to drive trade from the city and ruin all concerned. . . .

"In reply, the men say that, while it must be admitted that there is some truth in the charges brought against the order, it is not the less true that employers never sincerely tried to make the best of it, but all along showed by their actions a spirit of opposition to it in any form; that, if the committee of arbitration on the part of the employers had, even partially, done as they promised, there would have been no trouble, as the workingmen were always more than willing to leave any grievance, real or supposed, to be settled by that plan; that, had employers generally shown such interest in the well-being of their employees as they all of them professed to feel, any of the unreasonable rules or laws of the Crispin order could and would have been modified or abolished. . . .

"About the middle of June, 1872 (the agreement having expired on the 10th), the following circular, signed by the Crispin committee, was sent to all the shoe-shops in the city: 'To the Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Lynn. Gentlemen,—We the undersigned, a committee appointed by the Knights of St. Crispin, in mass convention assembled, respectfully notify you that we are prepared to meet with a similar committee of the shoe manufacturers of Lynn, with a view to arranging a list of prices for the coming year. Please inform us through our secretary of your action at as early a date as convenient.'

"To this communication no reply was ever received."

And so ended the system of conciliation in the shoe-trade of Lynn. The manufacturers formed themselves into a Union for the purpose of destroying the Union of the workingmen. The latter struck, but in vain; and the Crispin organization virtually came to an end in Lynn. It is evident from the above account, as it seems to me, that the blame for the failure of the plan of conciliation may be almost equally divided between the Knights of St. Crispin and the manufacturers. The former, by an unreasonable exercise of the power they had acquired, aroused in the

latter a spirit of vindictiveness and antagonism which was unworthy of intelligent and fair-minded men. They should, instead of indulging these feelings, have made an effort to understand their workmen, and should in good faith have seconded the efforts of the one among their number who had the wisdom, the courage, and the generosity to suggest the only means of arriving at permanent peace. To tyranny on the part of the Crispins and anger on the part of the manufacturers — that is, to selfish short-sightedness on both sides — must be attributed this disaster.

It is interesting, after considering this story of the mistakes of Lynn shoe manufacturers and workmen in 1872, to find the following words in the Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration for 1890:

. . . "In Marlborough, Brockton, and Whitman there have been no labor difficulties during the last year which involved serious loss of work to any one. In all these thriving centres of shoemaking enterprise, . . . the principle of arbitration has gained a foothold. . . . Is it not worth while for those who are most closely identified with the business of Lynn to consider the question whether there is not something to be learned from other shoe towns as to the best methods of dealing with questions which arise between employers and employees? . . . It ought to be possible to devise some way that would produce better results for all concerned than have been witnessed in Lynn during the last year."

It would appear that Lynn still holds to uncivilized methods of settling labor difficulties, although the State herself has pointed out a better way; and one might have hoped for some improvement, if only on the principle that "a burnt child dreads the fire."

The other three cases, which I shall take from the Massachusetts pamphlet, are given by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks of Pittsburg, and are three attempts made, at different times and places, to introduce the principle of arbitration as a means of settling labor questions in the Pennsylvania coal trade, the first in 1871 and the two last in 1879.

The conditions existing in the anthracite regions (where the first attempt was made) before 1868 are thus described by Mr. Weeks: —

"The industrial history of the anthracite regions has been marked by greatest fluctuations, in demand and prices for its product, and a most terrible catalogue of outrages connected with

labor difficulties. . . . The rapid increase in production created an unprecedented demand for labor, coupled in the seasons of demand with such inducements in the way of wages that vast bodies of workmen were attracted from other industries and other sections, and even from foreign countries, to the anthracite regions and the mining of coal. . . .

"The workmen had little in common except their occupations, and between employees and employer there seemed not the least community of interest. In the periods of over-demand, prices for labor would be forced by the men and conceded by the operators to a ruinously high figure; but the inevitable glutting of the market that followed brought wages to a point inadequate to sustain life, and a period of privation and suffering ensued. These periods of plenty and suffering that followed each other with grim regularity soon told upon the character of the workmen of this region; and a condition of society almost surpassing belief developed itself, marked by the most terrible evidences of its existence. Strikes were the normal condition of the region; and, their outcome being for the most part the constant defeat of the workingmen, a feeling of utter hopelessness and blind recklessness became the ruling spirit of many of the workmen, although it should not be forgotten that there was still a large class of miners who were as thoughtful, provident, and self-respecting as any class of citizens. . . . A writer speaking of the condition of this region during the war describes it as 'a pandemonium of outrage, violence, and anarchy, utter disregard of the sanctity of law and of immunity, through its lax enforcements, such as has never been known before in Pennsylvania and seldom in the nation.'

. . . "It was in the midst of such a condition of affairs that two Associations were formed that for years exerted a powerful influence on the employees and trade of this region.

"On the 6th of April, 1868, a petition was presented to the Court of Common Pleas of Schuylkill County, asking for a charter for the 'Workingmen's Benevolent Association of St. Clair,' which petition was granted in due course. . . . The Anthracite Board of Trade of the Schuylkill coal region was formed on Nov. 19, 1869. . . . Each party in the labor contests in this region were thus prepared with an organization that could give voice to its wishes and intentions, and could conduct any contest that should be joined."

During the next year and a half these two organizations succeeded in adjusting wages by mutual agreement,—that is, by means of conciliation; but, finally, difficulties arose which made it necessary to resort to arbitration and call in outside assistance. Arbitrators were selected by both sides, who met at Mauch Chunk April 17, 1871, and chose Judge William Elwell of Bloomsbury as umpire. The Board had been convened "to settle the difficulties then existing, but no others"; but, to the surprise of the operators, the delegates from the Luzerne and Lehigh regions refused to allow the question of wages to be submitted to the decision of the

umpire, and the men from Schuylkill introduced a new proposition. . . . These positions thus taken by the workmen resulted in the failure of the arbitration, so far as wages were concerned. . . . The operators of Schuylkill County determined to ignore the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, and appealed directly to the men (April 22, 1871). . . . This appeal was characterized in a card issued by the Association on April 27 "as grossly insulting to the legally elected officers, and as a bribe to the men"; but in the same card the Association receded from its refusal to arbitrate on wages, and, after making certain proposals in regard to the conditions of resuming work, continued: "If this offer is not agreeable to the operators, we are willing to submit the question of wages, including all propositions thus far made by either side, to arbitration." . . . After some preliminaries, on May 11 arbitration was agreed upon for Schuylkill County, the other regions having already resumed work by mutual agreement. Besides the agreement to arbitrate the special questions then at issue, the articles signed by the officers of both Associations also contained the following: "4. Provision is hereby made for future arbitration in the following manner. (1) All questions of disagreement in any district excepting wages, which cannot be settled by the parties directly interested, shall be referred to a District Board of Arbitration, to consist of three members on each side, with power, in case of disagreement, to select an umpire whose decision shall be final. No colliery or district to stop work pending such arbitration. (2) If any question arises involving the whole county, a Board of Arbitration shall be chosen, consisting of five members on each side, with the same rights and duties as for District Boards."

On May 17 the decision of the umpire was rendered, and (to quote again from Mr. Weeks) "this result was hailed throughout the entire region as a settlement of troubles for the year. Not only that, but it was believed that an era of peace had at last dawned on the troubled coal regions. . . . All these anticipations were doomed to disappointment, as the terms of the decision remained in force only until September. . . . The loaders of the Thomes Coal Company, in flagrant violation of the award of the umpire, demanded an advance, . . . and ceased work. The officers of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association used their efforts in favor of adhering [to the terms of the award]; and the difficulty was on the point of adjustment, when the company acceded to the demand, and entered into a written agreement with all their employees, including even the miners who had not asked an advance. . . . Of course, the men at the other collieries in the vicinity demanded the same agreement. It was resisted at some, and the men struck; at others, they agreed, under protest, until action was taken by the committees. . . . Appeals were made to the officers of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association and to the men to adhere to the agreement, . . . and many of them did use their exertion to maintain it, but gradually, one by one, agreed to pay

the advance; and the President of the Workingmen's Association candidly admitted that it was impossible for them to check the current, because so many had already acquiesced rather than have a strike."

Here, as is evident, the failure is due to want of faith on both sides. The men disregarded their agreement, but the Thomes Company were equally to blame for disregarding theirs.

In October, 1879, Mr. Weeks himself succeeded in securing the formation of a Board of Arbitration for the Pittsburg (Penn.) district, with members appointed by meetings of the operators and of the miners expressly called for the purpose. Mr. Weeks had, at the request of the Governor of Pennsylvania, made a visit to England in 1878 to investigate the working of conciliation and arbitration in that country, and was eminently fitted therefore to assist in drawing up practical rules for the government of the Board. The rules were indeed drawn up, and were adopted. Several meetings were held, the first session lasting five and a half days; but no agreement as to a scale of wages could be reached, and no umpire acceptable to both sides could be found who could serve, and, after two months' vain effort, the Board adjourned *sine die.* Of this failure Mr. Weeks says: —

. . . "The cause was that the miners' representatives did not come to the Board with full powers, as the operators' representatives did, but were bound by the instructions of the convention which appointed them. Failure is nearly, if not quite, inevitable under such circumstances. The very intent of arbitration is that the arbitrators shall come prepared to hear the arguments and facts, and decide in accordance with these, and not in accordance with the instructions of a body that have not heard the arguments nor considered all the facts. It might perhaps be said that there was a reason back of this for the failure, and that was the suspicion of the miners that would not allow them to believe their representatives would be loyal and honest to their best interests. . . . This suspicion led the miners, in opposition to the spirit of the rules, to bind their representatives with instructions. . . . Under such circumstances, failure was a foregone conclusion from the first, and always will be in similar cases."

The other attempt to form a Board of Arbitration in the coal-trade was made in the Shenango Valley at the same time as that just referred to. At the request of the operators, a conference was called on November 14, several meetings were held, and rules were adopted; but no agreement as to a scale of wages could be

reached, and the Board of Arbitration dissolved. Mr. Weeks says of this attempt: —

"Here, again, one cause of the failure seems to have been the lack of power on the part of the miners' representatives, they having to refer the proposition of the operators to a mass convention for adoption or rejection. Another vital error, both here and at Pittsburg, was the failure to elect an umpire until the situation had reached a dead-lock."

In both these cases, as appears, it is the miners who were in fault, because they had not in good faith accepted the conditions essential to arbitration: they had not confidence either in their own representatives or in the representatives of the operators.

The four cases which I have cited are all instances of entirely voluntary conciliation and arbitration, the two first attempts having been made twenty years ago, and the others twelve years ago. Since that time the principle of arbitration has been recognized by various State legislatures; and in New York and Massachusetts State Boards have been appointed, their duty being, when called upon by the parties to a controversy between employers and employees, to act as arbitrators, or, in their discretion, to make an inquiry into the causes which led to the trouble, and report to the legislature upon the subject.

The reports of both Boards for the year 1890 supply interesting material for my purpose,— examples, that is, of a failure to settle peaceably certain difficulties because of a lack of the necessary moral and intellectual qualities on one side or the other. I select from each report two cases.

On May 22, 1890, the cabinet-makers, carvers, and varnishers employed by a firm in New York struck because the firm refused to discharge a foreman who was objected to by the Furniture Workers' Union. The firm brought the matter to the attention of the Association of Manufacturers of Cabinet Work and Furniture; and the Association appointed a committee to investigate the charges against the foreman, at the same time inviting the Union to appoint a committee to meet them, investigate the charges jointly with them, and settle the difficulty. After two requests to this effect, the Union appointed a committee, but gave them no power to act, and, in answer to a third request from the Association of Manufacturers, decided to continue the strike, and not to confer. The Association continued its efforts to induce the

Union to accept the principle of arbitration, but in vain; and the strike continued until November. Here the manufacturers did all that fair-minded men could do to bring about a settlement, and to secure the adoption of a method which would have done much to prevent future trouble between them and their employees; while the latter showed themselves arbitrary and unreasonable.

In the next case, taken also from the New York Report, the circumstances are reversed. In February, 1890, the workmen employed in the planing-mills of Buffalo began an agitation for a reduction of their hours from ten to nine; and on March 27 the District Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners sent a letter to the officers and members of the Builders' Exchange, asking that a time be appointed when a committee could wait upon them to discuss the matter. Receiving no reply to this request, on May 5 the United Brotherhood sent a circular letter to each of the mill-owners in Buffalo, asking whether he would concede a nine-hour day if a majority of the mill-owners decided to do so. To this letter but one answer was received, which was affirmative, on the condition named; and on the 11th of May a second circular was prepared and published, and also sent to each employer, demanding the reduced hours without reduction of pay and with extra pay for overtime. To this the answer of the employers was a resolution, published on the 19th of May, that they would not pay ten hours for nine hours' work; and on the 20th six hundred men struck.

The Board of Mediation and Arbitration of the State met in Buffalo June 2, having requested both sides to send representatives to meet them. A committee from the employees met the Board, but the secretary of the mill-owners wrote that there was no power to appoint a committee until after the next meeting of the Board. Later, on June 4, the mill-owners sent a letter to the Board, saying they had nothing to arbitrate; and on June 6 the strike came to an end.

Here it is the employers who show a spirit of arrogance. They refuse to reply to the perfectly courteous communications of the United Brotherhood, in order to avoid a strike; and, after the strike is begun, they refuse to submit their side of the case to the State Board of Arbitration.

It cannot be supposed that in either of these cases the relations between the employers and the employees can be friendly. There must be a sense of irritation and of mutual dislike, which at any

time is likely to produce renewed trouble. The wonder is that men whose daily lives are so closely bound together should be willing to continue under conditions which are, at the best, those of latent war. If there is a truce, it is only while the defeated side is recruiting its powers. Each side lies on its arms and awaits the signal to join battle again.

One of the two cases selected from the Massachusetts Report is the contest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of Boston for a shorter day. And in that city this Union showed the same intelligence and self-control which distinguished it in Buffalo; while, unfortunately, the employers (in this case the Carpenters' Builders' Association) manifested very much the same tyrannical spirit which was seen on their part there. The United Brotherhood, in order to furnish no excuse for a refusal of their demand for a shorter day, agreed to accept also reduced wages; and they invited the Master Builders' Association to a conference upon the question, and offered to submit the matter to arbitration. They were met, however, by an unconditional refusal to consider the question; and the strike was begun May 1, 1890. In June the State Board of Arbitration invited both associations to submit the matters in dispute to them, to which invitation the United Brotherhood answered that they would gladly meet a committee of the Master Carpenters; but these would not consent, and the strike ended after a second attempt on the part of the Board (on July 8) to induce the Master Carpenters to agree to arbitration. The report of the Board on this strike closes with these pregnant words: —

. . . "The contest was practically given up by the workmen, but with the expectation of renewing their demand at some future time and under more propitious circumstances."

The last case I shall give is remarkable because of the extreme reasonableness on one side and the unreasonableness with which it was met.

In February, 1890, a Boston firm of contractors, being unable to get as many men as they needed from the Journeymen Freestone Cutters' Union, hired marble-cutters to work on marble which was to be used in building. The Union claimed that their members had a right to do all such work; but there were no members of the Union to be had, and no new members were for the time being allowed to join. As the Union had been in the habit of imposing

on their employers other very annoying and burdensome conditions, without previous consultation with them, the latter, who belonged to an organization called the Freestone Contractors' Association of New England, decided that it was time to come to an understanding with the Union, and to formulate a set of rules by which their mutual relations should be governed. Accordingly, in response to a strike of thirty-six Union men on February 26, the Association voted to lock out all the Union men in their employ throughout New England, unless the Union should consent: —

1. That the books of the Union should always be open to admit any competent freestone cutter to membership.
2. That the rule as to apprentices should be so modified that American boys might be permitted to learn the art of carving stone.
3. That marble-cutters should be allowed to work on marble building work.

On February 28, after this action on the part of the contractors had been posted in the yards, all the Union men in Boston, about seven hundred, struck: and the result was the same in Springfield and elsewhere. On March 3 a detailed statement of their grievances and proposed terms was published by the Contractors' Association. The following extracts from the report of a Committee, which is embodied in the statement, are worthy to be reproduced, as showing the spirit which ought to control employers in all dealings with their employees: —

. . . "Having thus recited some of the more prominent of the improper acts of the Unions, your Committee desires to call attention to the fact that the blame for this aggravated condition of things does not rest entirely upon the workmen; for, had the employers been wise enough several years ago to form an organization of their own, they would surely have been able to prevent many of these overt acts, and by this time have secured a more harmonious and safe relation between the workmen and themselves. The present situation is an impressive illustration of the extent to which a strongly organized body of men may override the rights of others, and, becoming arrogant through lack of organized opposition, finally produce a reaction, and seriously weaken their just claims for recognition.

"Your Committee trusts that, in the emergency which now confronts our special calling, the spirit of crushing, conquering, retaliating, may not have any place in the minds of the members of this body, but, while exhibiting a proper indignation, that we simply permit ourselves to insist upon a readjustment of our relations to

the workmen on lines which shall fairly represent the rights of all concerned, unbiassed by acts of the past. . . .

"Your Committee recommend that it be plainly stated that, in this undertaking of the Freestone Contractors' Association to establish a system for the conduct of work which shall be more just and equitable, no attempt is made to injure or destroy the Journeymen's Association or Union; that, on the contrary, it is the wish of the contractors that the Union should grow and flourish, and, that it may so grow and flourish, the present effort is simply to prune away certain rank and noxious growth, which not only threatens the safety and prosperity of the employers as business men, but which also menaces the welfare and even life of the Unions. . . .

"Your Committee now reaches the most important part of the duty assigned to it; namely, the recommendation of a plan by and through which the reforms suggested may be achieved without ignoring the rights either of workmen or employers, and without neglecting the advantage which the existence of organizations on both sides secures. Disputes and differences are bound to occur so long as the two relations exist; and the manner of settling the present accumulations of grievances should be so just and fair that it may be used as a key to unlock all future complications.

"Your Committee recommends that a permanent Court of Arbitration be established, to which all our present grievances and all grievances of the workmen (if any such exist) be presented for settlement.

"This court to be formed of three members of the Contractors' Association and three members of the Journeymen's Association, with a seventh man as judge or arbiter, to be selected by the six first named from some profession or business in no way connected with the freestone business or any of the building trades. This arbiter to be preferably a judge of some of our higher courts in New England. This arbiter or umpire to sit in all meetings of the Committee, and to have the deciding vote when the balance of the Committee cannot agree. The umpire to be paid a proper fee for his services; the expenses to be equally divided between the two Associations interested. All findings of this Court of Arbitration on matters submitted to it to be accepted as final by both parties as Associations, and by all members of each Association as individuals." . . .

To this paper the Union published a reply, the most important part being the closing paragraph, which is as follows: —

"In reference to your proposition to submit all differences arising between us to arbitration, the Journeymen Freestone Cutters' Union is willing to arbitrate, the Board of Arbitration, however, to consist of equal numbers of employers and employees. The Union

does not believe it is wise or necessary to bring into the controversy judges or any persons who are not familiar with the business."

On March 7 and subsequently the State Board of Arbitration attempted to secure a meeting of committees from both sides; but no favorable answer could be obtained from the Union. On March 11 the Contractors' Association again presented their plan of arbitration slightly modified, in order that each of the four Unions of New England should have a representative on the proposed Board, and at the same time warned the Unions that, should no official acceptance of the proposal be received before March 17, the yards would be reopened on that day and workmen engaged without any regard to the Unions. This was what took place; and, although the Freestone Cutters' Unions asked for a conference two months later, the Executive Committee of the Contractors' Association replied that no action would be taken upon their request, and the strike was declared off by the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Union in October.

A pathetic story this, of a great opportunity wasted, thrown away. These men had every condition, except the nobility to take advantage of them, necessary for the establishment of peaceful relations forever, one might almost say, between themselves and their employers. They themselves had a long-established and very strong Union; and they had, what is almost as necessary, among their employers also a strong Union, ready to recognize theirs, though not willing to submit to tyranny from it. This Union of their employers offered to join them in establishing a Board of Arbitration upon a plan which had for twenty years worked successfully in some of the most complicated trades in England, and to submit to this Board for final settlement, not only all future grievances, but those of long standing which had given rise to the existing troubles. It is sad that men should sacrifice so much simply, as it would seem, to make a vain show of their own power.

I have selected failures instead of successes as illustrations, because they seem to me to show more clearly the qualities needed to enable men to establish peaceable methods of settling labor difficulties, by showing for lack of what qualities the failures befell. In the first case I have cited there was no real desire for justice on either side; in the second, both sides broke faith; in the third and fourth, the workingmen did not trust even

their own delegates; in the fifth and eighth, the workingmen cared only to assert their own power, showing but little intelligence or conscience; and, in the sixth and seventh, the employers showed the same selfish, tyrannical spirit, the same want of intelligence and conscience.

I think these cases prove that without intelligence, love of justice, faith in others, and honor on both sides, civilized methods for the settling of labor difficulties cannot be adopted.

If men use uncivilized methods, they will suffer and will cause others to suffer; and the only way to avoid the suffering is by the development of high intelligence and noble qualities among both employers and employed. Let us hasten to recognize and do honor to these qualities wherever we meet them, and return our grateful thanks to the men who work for peace, whether they be among the Trades' Unionists, the Knights of Labor, or in the ranks of employers.

6. COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

BY HON. SEYMOUR DEXTER, OF ELMIRA, N. Y.

(Read September 3, 1891.)

In an unguarded moment, in a pleasant conversation on one of the verandas of the United States Hotel, a year ago, I promised Professor Wayland to prepare a paper for this meeting on "Compulsory Arbitration." We have endeavored to get a release from the rash promise; but the Professor has been unrelenting in his exaction that "the bond" must be paid, and so we are here to make the payment. To treat exhaustively this theme in a single paper of proper length for this occasion is impossible. To even outline it with any completeness will require a brevity of statement ill suited to the discussion of a proposition about which men differ.

It is the high aim of jurisprudence to provide a remedy for every wrong to person and property: —

1. That the peace of the State may be assured, and
2. That the rights of individuals may be protected.

If the laws of the State provided no peaceful procedure for recovering stolen property, he that had been robbed would be justified in recovering his property by force and arms; but, in so doing, the peace of the people would be disturbed. If no legal and peaceful remedy were provided for malicious slander or libel, the injured party would be justified in visiting violence upon the head of his false accuser, and again the peace of society would be jeopardized. With every advance made through the centuries in the complexity of the social structure, new and advanced forms of legal procedure have evolved to meet new conditions in the evolving social life. The legal forms and procedure of a purely agricultural people will not meet the requirements of a people engaged largely in manufacture and commerce. All courts in any age, and the laws under which they are formed and their procedure guided, are but instruments to secure a "Compulsory Arbitration" of disputes between or wrongs perpetrated or alleged to have been perpetrated by one individual or a combination of individuals upon another individual or combination of individuals

or upon the social body as a whole. As the density of population increases, the points of contact between the individuals multiply, and the volume of law regulating their intercourse necessarily increases. The farmer may build his house of such material as he pleases: the city dweller must build his house of such material as the building ordinances prescribe. The social life of the present age, especially during the last fifty years, has been rapidly evolving a complexity in its structure unknown to the former ages. The State in its social life (we use the words "social life" in their broadest significance) is fast becoming knit together and related in all its part, akin to the human body. The railroads of all kinds, the natural and artificial water-ways, are the circulatory system; the telegraph and telephone, the nervous system. The various results which have come to pass through the agency of steam and electricity have changed and are changing the very habits of the people, and their environment, in the struggle for existence. New questions have arisen, or old ones under new conditions, which demand careful consideration. A single illustration will add clearness to our discussion.

A little over a year ago a great strike occurred on the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad. At the command of the chosen leaders of certain labor organizations, the greater part of the employees at a given hour quit their work; and this great artery in the nation's circulatory system was for the time being paralyzed. The traveller could not continue his journey; the business man could not go forward to meet his engagement or return to his home as he had anticipated; the country dealer could not forward his merchandise as he had planned; the city merchant could not ship his goods to fill his orders; perishable freight in transit was allowed to decay; great loss in wages was entailed upon the employees; a greater loss in its earnings upon the railroad, and a much greater loss upon the public at large. The aggregation of the monetary losses caused by this strike would have maintained a Court of Arbitration for a century. In addition to these injuries to the social life, bitterness of feeling was engendered between classes of men. For self-protection, the power of the great corporation was brought into play to crush out the labor organization, while hot-headed members of the organization planned destruction of railroad property in a manner that involved at the same time destruction of human life.

This strike, with all the consequences which it involved, was a

wrong against the social life of the State. The injury done was greater than the injury of a hundred horse-stealings, a hundred burglaries or forgeries. The peace of the State was disturbed in a greater degree than ever arises except in actual war or similar strikes. We feel there can be no disagreement, then, upon the following propositions: —

1. That all "strikes" or "lockouts" which involve paralysis, partial or complete, of any part of the circulatory or nervous system of the social structure, are *wrongs* against the social life.

2. That it is desirable to prevent these wrongs by averting the recurrence of similar strikes.

3. That it is the manifest duty of the State, speaking in the name of the whole people, to avert the recurrence of such strikes, if a possible and practicable method can be devised to accomplish the desired result.

Recurring again to the particular strike mentioned, we find two forces were arrayed against each other, which must unite and work in harmony to make either available. The great corporation, with its $150,000,000 of invested capital and its valuable franchises granted by the State, becomes valueless without its army of employees. The army of employees must earn the wages which the corporation pay, in order to live and maintain themselves and families. In their harmonious working together, the people of the State of New York are necessarily and directly concerned and interested; and they have the moral right, and should have the legal right, to command them to work in harmony, and to further command that neither party shall voluntarily disrupt that harmonious working, under any circumstances, to the extent of paralyzing the function which the union of their forces discharges in the social structure of the State, without the individuals directly engaged in producing such disruption being guilty of high crime under the law. We assert this proposition as true and fundamental in reference to every corporation or employer and their employees, who by the union of their forces perform a function in the social life which cannot be readily and at once discharged by others without serious injury to the public at large.

Self-interest will ordinarily secure the harmonious working of these forces; but experience proves that it will not always suffice.

In the examination of the question under consideration, other facts should stand out clearly; namely, that the investment of this great block of capital in the railroad and its appurtenances, and

the gathering of the army of employees dependent from month to month, to a greater or less extent, for the necessaries of life upon the wages paid by the managers and representatives of invested capital, are the necessary conditions for building and operating this great highway of travel and commerce.

They are new conditions arising out of evolution in the complexity of the social structure. The invested capital is owned by individuals, and controlled and managed by their chosen representatives, for gain. The motive that inspired the investment was gain: the labor that must be done to utilize the invested capital and make it profitable must be performed by individuals. The laborer receives wages; the stockholders receive dividends: both must be paid from the earnings. If you increase either wages or dividends without increasing net earnings, the other must receive a less amount. The managers and representatives in control of the invested capital receive wages for their services in salaries. The common standard by which their ability and success in the management are measured is the amount paid to the owners of invested capital in dividends. The amount of their own salaries will largely depend upon their success in earning dividends. Hence there is an apparent and actual conflict of interest between the army of laborers and the managers of the invested capital. While human nature remains selfish, the laborer will endeavor to secure the most wages for the services rendered that he can; while the corporation, or employer, will seek to have the work done at the least wages possible and have it well done. The demands of a single employee are powerless, when asking for an increase in wages or a shortening of hours of labor or protesting against a reduction in wages. Hence comes to pass the organization of all those having a common interest for their mutual protection and advantage. Through the machinery of these voluntary organizations the laborers choose their leaders and spokesmen. We know that managers and owners of invested capital have at times been oppressive in their dealings with labor. On the other hand, we know that organized labor through its chosen leaders has made demands that were unreasonable, and could not be granted without wiping out dividends and in effect surrendering the management of the invested capital to the leaders of the labor organizations.

We have in the invested capital a centralized power which may become, and at times does become, a menace to the liberty of action and spirit of independence of its employees, the fostering of

which is essential to the perpetuity of our institutions. On the other hand, we have in the compact labor organizations a centralized power of great import, which may become, and has at times become, a menace to the invested capital and its management. Disputes arise between them, feeling and passion are engendered, self-interest prejudices cool judgment and discrimination; the contention increases in intensity until a type of open war is declared, and both sides marshal their respective forces in a conflict for supremacy, with the *intent to injure*, to the extent at least of compelling the other to yield to the terms dictated, rather than to suffer the threatened injury or longer endure the injury being inflicted.

If the laborers and their leaders on the one side, and the owners of the invested capital and their managers on the other, were the only parties directly and necessarily injured in the conflict, the argument for the intervention of the State would be less cogent; but even under the latter conditions it is the policy of the State to intervene in smaller matters. We believe the sentiment of the people as a whole is strong that it is time some better method than strikes and lockouts should be devised and enforced for settling the disputes and contentions between invested capital and its management and organized labor and its leaders, when they are engaged in performing a function in the social life which cannot be suspended, even for a day, without serious public inconvenience and loss.

The machinery for voluntary arbitration has been provided, but experience proves it a failure. The next advance (and logical in its relation to existing judicial procedure) is Compulsory Arbitration,— the establishment of a court of a character fit to deal with the questions to be tried and decided therein. In creating such a court, the important questions arising for consideration are: —

1. What shall be its jurisdiction?
2. How shall it be constituted?
3. What shall be the rules of its procedure?
4. How shall its decisions be enforced?

Let us briefly consider these questions in the order named.

1. What shall be the jurisdiction of this Court of Compulsory Arbitration?

The jurisdiction of any court involves three matters: —

(*a*) Territorial jurisdiction.

(*b*) The subject-matters over which it exercises judicial authority.

(*c*) The person or persons over whom it exercises such authority.

The question of territorial jurisdiction for our present purposes may be easily disposed of by answering that its boundaries shall be the limits of the State creating the court. The subject-matter of its jurisdiction becomes more difficult of statement in definite and clear outlines. We shall be aided by the use of certain negative statements at the outset: —

1. The boundaries should not be arbitrary, based upon class or party feeling, or caprice, or the power to secure the passage of legislation.

2. The boundaries should not be illogical and out of harmony with the generally accepted notions of State intervention and supervision in the industrial as well as the other activities within the State.

3. They should not include capital and its management invested in purely private enterprises, nor the employees of the management of such capital.

Advancing to affirmative statement, we suggest: —

First. The boundaries of its jurisdiction as to subject-matter should be based upon a principle which the mass of men will comprehend when stated, and which can be clearly recognized in its application to groups of facts or phenomena widely divergent from each other in characteristics.

Second. This principle should be in harmony with the generally accepted principles controlling in the matter of State intervention or supervision in the industrial affairs of the State.

Third. It should be a scientific principle, as against a mere empirical hypothesis.

Can we find such a principle upon which to base and to guide in framing legislation that shall define the subject-matter of which this new court shall have jurisdiction? We suggest (with modesty, however) that we can.

In whatever place in the social life of the State we find industrial activity, there we necessarily find labor and capital united in such activity. Whenever we find such industrial activity upon any large scale, we of necessity find invested capital, of greater or lesser amount, with its managers in control on the one side, and the massing under this control of a greater or lesser number of employees. These industrial activities are divisible, for our purpose, into two classes; namely, those which are performing a *public* function and those which are performing a *private* function. The

$150,000,000 of invested capital in the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, with its managers on the one side and its army of 20,000 employees on the other, are performing a *public* function in the social life of the State. The same is true of every other railroad, every street-car line, steamboat or ferry company, every telegraph and telephone company, every company for furnishing gas or electric lights, every water company. Many others can be enumerated, but these are sufficient for illustration.

On the other hand, a firm engaged in manufacturing boots and shoes, or fabrics for wear, or implements for use, it matters not what, which is manufacturing and selling its wares in competition with other firms or corporations engaged in a similar manufacture, is performing a *private* function in the social life. (It is possible that better names than "public" and "private" might be used in this classification, but none occur to me at this time.)

All the companies we have mentioned as performing a *public* function must obtain a franchise from the State, of some kind, for the transaction of their business. The right of the State to intervene and supervise the conduct of their business, within certain lines, is generally accepted and established by many statutes. The Interstate Commerce Commission is a new court, evolving out of the new conditions to which we have referred, and in harmony with the new court for which we are contending. Such lines of supervision relate to the price charged for services rendered to the public, as passenger and freight rates on railroads, fares on street-cars and ferries, price of gas, water, etc.; also, the manner of constructing the plant and appliances used in the transaction of the business.

We therefore suggest that the subject-matter of which the new court should have jurisdiction, at its formation, should be the controversies arising between invested capital and its managers organized as a corporation, having a franchise from the State or a municipal division thereof, and engaged in performing a public function in the social life of the State, on the one side, and the employees of such corporations and their chosen leaders on the other; and we further suggest the limitation of such controversies to the following subjects: —

1. Wages.
2. Hours of labor.
3. Tools and appliances used by the employee in performing his

labor, and the competency of his colaborers as related to his safety.

4. The conditions under which the employee is required to perform his labor, as related to his health.

5. The terms of the contract between the employee and the corporation, relating to the causes, the time, and the manner in which it may be terminated by the employee or the corporation.

This discussion and final statement as to subject-matters of jurisdiction has also brought out clearly the *persons* over whom the new court should exercise judicial authority; namely, the corporation engaged in the performance of a public function (recognized in judicial procedure as a *person*), its officers and managers, and the employees of such corporation or corporations and their chosen leaders. The statement of the manner in which the court shall obtain jurisdiction of the person in the exercise of its judicial authority belongs in the discussion of the Rules of Procedure of the court, to be referred to hereafter.

How shall the Court be Constituted?

This brings us to the second important question,— How shall this court be constituted? what shall be its numbers, the title of its members, how selected, and what cardinal principle shall guide in their selection? With the right kind of men in this court, we have no doubt that Compulsory Arbitration can be made successful, and a grand advance made in our jurisprudence; but, with the wrong men there, failure would certainly follow. Time will not permit us to discuss the reasons for them, but we believe each suggestion following has a valid reason to sustain it. We suggest: —

1. The membership of the court should be *seven.*

2. That the name of the court should be the New York State Commission of Compulsory Arbitration; its members being styled Commissioners and its presiding officer Chief Commissioner; their terms of office to be five years.

3. The Chief Commissioner to be appointed by the Judges of Court of Appeals, and the appointee to have been trained in the legal profession and have had at least five years' experience as a judge of a court of record in this State. The second Commissioner to be appointed by the Chancellor of the Regents of the University, the Presidents of Cornell University, of Rochester Uni-

versity, of Columbia College and Union College, who, in making such appointment, shall jointly certify that the appointee is learned in social and economic science, and in all other respects duly qualified to be a commissioner of such court. The third Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor, the fourth by the Senate, the fifth by the Assembly, the sixth to be designated by the corporations of the State which come within the jurisdiction of the court, and the seventh by the employees of such corporations through their chosen leaders.

The court shall elect its own clerk and other officers and attachés. Its headquarters to be at Albany, but with power to hold sittings at any place within the State. The Chief Commissioner, the Social Science Commissioner, and the Commissioner appointed by the Governor shall have no other business in which they are actively engaged, and be expected to devote all their ability and energy to the work of the Commission.

The decisions of the Commission shall not be subject to review by any other court except upon questions involving its jurisdiction and powers, under the laws of the State establishing and relating to the tribunal, and then by the Court of Appeals in the first instance.

What shall be the Rules of its Procedure?

Concerning the rules of procedure in this tribunal, the necessity for brevity confines us to a discussion of the important questions of such procedure. The details should conform to the established practice of our courts of civil jurisdiction. As we conceive the important questions, they may be stated as follows: —

1. Who may voluntarily become a party, and who may be compelled to become a party, to a proceeding in such court?

2. How shall the complaining party or plaintiff compel the defending party or defendant to appear in the court, and make answer to his complaint? What the form of complaining and what the form of answering?

3. When the issues are joined, in what manner shall the trial proceed?

4. How shall the decision be made and a judgment or decree entered thereon?

We suggest: —

1. That any corporation of the class above described may become a complainant or be a party defendant under its corporate

name and the names of its board of directors and the general officers of the board; that is, in addition to the corporate name there shall also appear the names of the directors and the names of the general officers. The reason for requiring their names to appear, and for uniting them as actual parties with the corporation itself, has reference to the form of the judgment and the details of the same, which the court may finally render, and the manner of enforcing it.

2. That the employees as a whole or a majority thereof of any such corporation may become a party complainant or be made a party defendant, and shall be pleaded under the name and style of the employees of said corporation; and that they are such employees shall appear by suitable averment in the petition presented to the court and attested by proper verification. (Of this petition we shall speak in the consideration of the second question above stated.)

3. That any particular class or grade of employees of such corporation, numbering at least twenty-five, may become a party complainant or be made a party defendant, in the same manner as above specified, in reference to the whole or a majority of the employees.

4. That any labor organization formed by and consisting wholly of the employees of such a corporation, and having in active membership at least a majority of all the employees thereof, and numbering at least twenty-five; also any labor organization formed by and consisting wholly of any particular class or grade of employees of such a corporation, and having in active membership at least a majority of such class or grade, and numbering at least twenty-five,— may become a party complainant or be made a party defendant.

5. That any labor organization formed by and consisting wholly of the employees of two or more corporations of this class, or of any particular class or grade of such employees, with the consent of the Commission, may become a complainant or be made a defendant.

6. With the consent of the Commission, two or more corporations may unite as complainants or be united as defendants.

In this enumeration we have excluded from becoming a party any labor organization which is not formed wholly of the employees of the class of corporations which may become a party, voluntarily or by compulsion, to a proceeding in the tribunal, and

only allow a labor organization formed from the employees of two or more such corporations to become a party by the consent of the Commission. The reason for so doing is to exclude from any dispute or controversy or matter that may be brought before the court for examination all parties not directly interested therein.

In the consideration of the second question we suggest that a proceeding in the court shall be commenced by the filing of a petition in form, but a complaint in substance, wherein shall appear, *first*, the proper averment of the jurisdictional facts, and, secondly, a concise statement of the matters in dispute or controversy; and it must also appear that the petitioners and complainants have theretofore, within a reasonable time, in some suitable manner, asked the parties named as defendants to grant the matter or matters in controversy, and that they have refused so to do, and still refuse. The averments of the petition shall be properly verified under rules established by the court.

Thereupon, the court shall carefully examine the papers presented, and decide in the first instance whether the petition and accompanying papers upon their face show the necessary jurisdictional facts, and whether the alleged dispute or controversy is apparently worthy of consideration or is sham and frivolous. If they decide against the petitioners on any of these grounds, upon the face of the papers, they shall be notified and given a hearing if desired. Whenever the court decides that the case presented is a proper one to compel the defendants named to answer, the court shall forthwith cause the petition and accompanying papers to be served upon the defendants, with the process of the court, requiring them to appear in the proceedings, and file their answer, properly verified, to the averments of the petition, with such other answers or affirmative matters as properly bear upon the questions raised by the petition. When filed, the court shall forthwith cause a copy of the same to be served upon the complainants, and they shall be required to reply to any affirmative matters therein contained; and, when the issues are thus framed, the trial shall proceed under rules prescribed by the court, the same to conform as far as practicable to the ordinary rules of practice in courts of civil jurisdiction, but allowing the parties and the court all the latitude that shall be necessary to place the court in possession of all the facts, which seem to the court to be proper to take into consideration, in deciding the dispute or controversy on trial before them; both parties to have the right to the aid of experts and counsel, if

desired. It shall be the aim of the court to ascertain and determine what is just and equitable between the parties themselves, and in their joint relation to the people of the State.

The court should have the power to require the State to appear in the proceedings, if deemed necessary or advisable, by its attorney-general.

One of the most important as well as one of the most frequent questions liable to come before such a tribunal for settlement would be a controversy relating to wages. A brief statement of the manner in which the court should examine such a question seems desirable.

An issue over the question of wages may arise from an attempt to reduce wages by the corporation, and a refusal on the part of the employees to accede, or an attempt on the part of the employees to secure an advance, which the corporation refuses to make. For illustration, let us assume a case of a corporation attempting to reduce wages. Passing by the details of forming the issues, we inquire, What shall the court investigate, from the facts admitted in the pleadings, or from evidence given by witnesses examined before them?

1. The price of wages paid at the commencement of the proceedings?

2. The price of wages if the proposed reduction is made?

3. The value or purchasing power of the old wages when established, and the purchasing power of the wages if reduced to the price as proposed?

4. The reasons which the company offer for the reduction.

5. The grounds of the objections made by the employees to such reduction.

6. The price and purchasing power of wages for similar services paid by other companies that are competitors, if such an examination seems to be necessary to arrive at an intelligent and equitable decision.

A calm judicial investigation before a court, without a jury, of these and similar questions as they may arise, will do much to clear the vision of the respective parties, and educate the public and prepare them to accept and abide by the decision of the court. One of the most important results to be gained from such a trial will be the authentic information obtained upon the matters in controversy, and, through the agency of the press, daily spread through the State. This would be educational, and aid in

dispelling an ignorance which is the greatest obstacle to harmonious relations between the owners and managers of invested capital and the employees thereof.

Decision of the Court.

Time will not permit us to enter into details: these can be readily adjusted along the following lines.

In the case of a controversy over wages, the decision should grant the increase, or permit the reduction, from the date of the filing of the petition in the proceedings. The decision of the court, under the laws establishing the tribunal, should give the employee the same legal rights against the company as he would have under a contract made with it, involving the same terms as the decision prescribes.

In a proceeding to reduce wages, the complainant, having first obtained consent of the court, upon notice to the defendants, should have the right to retain from each employee the amount which the reduction proposes, during the pendency of the proceedings; the court having the power to require that the amount be set aside in a safe depository for the benefit of the employees, in case the decision shall be adverse to the complainant.

In the event "hours of labor" is the matter in controversy, the decision of the court shall fix the hours required for a day's labor, and the reasonable wages for the reduced hours; and, if the employee is required to work the longer hours, pending the investigation; and is, under the final decision of the court, entitled to extra pay therefor, the court shall so decree, and the employee shall have the same rights to recover the same as above suggested in reference to an increase in wages.

If the issue involves the tools and appliances which the employee is required to use, as related to his safety, and the final decision shall be in favor of the employees, such decision shall be conclusive proof of negligence on the part of the company, from the filing of the petition in the proceedings, in any action brought against the company by an employee or administrator thereof, for injuries received in the use of the tools and appliances. And the court shall prescribe the time within which the defects in the tools and appliances, as related to the safety of the employees, shall be remedied; and, in case of failure to remedy the same, the corporation itself shall be subject to

fine, and its board of directors and general officers shall be held to be in criminal contempt of court, and shall be dealt with individually accordingly, such proceedings in their nature giving full opportunity for any officer to show, if true, that he is not responsible in any degree for the contempt, but has done all that he could to comply with the decision of the court. Contumacious contempt of the decision of the court should involve a forfeiture of the franchises of the corporations.

We must not weary you with details in the matter of enforcing the decisions of the court. So far as invested capital and its managers are concerned, it will not be difficult, along the lines of a contempt of court and making certain contumacious acts a crime, to secure their enforcement. Among these acts we would classify the discharge of employees who became complainants in a proceeding or were successful in such proceeding. We would make it a crime for the employees to refuse to abide by the decision of the court.

With the court established, there should be a law regulating the terms of contract between the employees and the corporations, as to the manner in which the employee may terminate his service, and, on the other hand, prescribing the manner in which he may be discharged for cause.

Upon the establishment of this court, with powers conforming to the lines suggested, a "strike" or a "lockout," or acts equivalent to either, should be declared a criminal conspiracy against the peace of the State, and those engaged guilty of high crime, and punishable in any court of criminal jurisdiction; and an attempt at fomenting or inducing such acts should be held to be an attempt to commit such crime, and punishable accordingly.

Voluntary Arbitration.

In the scheme of this court voluntary arbitration should be provided for and hold a conspicuous place. By voluntary we mean a submitted case upon an agreed state of facts, the facts agreed upon, being reduced to writing and signed by the representatives of the respective parties, taking the place of the petition and answer, and accompanied by a stipulation, signed by both parties, submitting the matter in controversy to the decision of the court; with the same force and effect as though one of the parties had commenced a hostile proceeding against the other, and the court had required the defendant to come in and contest the matters at

issue. The voluntary arbitration would be in principle the same as the submission of any matters at issue, upon an agreed state of facts, in any court having authority to hear the same.

Many points in this scheme for a Court of Compulsory Arbitration are left untouched which have occurred to me in thought and study; many objections can be raised to which there seem, to my mind, clear and simple answers. But we are compelled to omit both objections and answers in this paper. We firmly believe the time has come, in the rapidly evolving complexity of our social life, for an advance in jurisprudence along the lines suggested. We believe it practicable, and we earnestly and deeply feel it is necessary, to preserve in the future the peace and safety of the State. For the ills which we seek to curb and control in this manner there is no remedy at present but a type of war. As the Anglo-Saxon blood feud passed in the lines of heredity from father to son, and involved not alone families, but whole communities in its fatal outbursts, so shall class feuds, along the line of labor and capital, be handed down from generation to generation, with outbursts that shall again and again endanger the glory of our institutions and the fabric of our social structure, unless our jurisprudence shall evolve to meet these new problems in our social life.

7. SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

BY GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR OF THE "SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

(Read September 2, 1891.)

It is a characteristic of evolution that new formations always have to prove their right to exist by their power to establish themselves. This characteristic is as general in society as in the physical world. Every new institution has had to fight its way against old established forms. To this rule labor organizations have been no exception. For generations they were treated as conspiracies against society, and to be a member of one of them was made a criminal offence. Although this is greatly modified,—very few people, except in the most backward countries, now holding it, and the legal right of laborers to organize being conceded,—it is still believed by many that labor unions are unnatural, injurious, and opposed to public policy. Several of our prominent daily papers still refuse to employ Union printers. A few weeks ago the manufacturers of California formed an association for the special purpose of suppressing labor organizations throughout the State. One might as well form a society to abolish factories or to stop civilization.

Now, it is another general principle that in a progressive society there is a constant tendency to adjust institutions to the requirements of the people, by eliminating what is useless and retaining what is useful. Therefore, whenever an institution increases in extent and power, as society advances, we may be sure that it fills some important function. But labor organizations are not ancient institutions which have outlived their usefulness: they are comparatively recent developments, and are increasing in power as society advances. They are a natural part of capitalistic production and the wages system, both of which are indispensable to our complex civilization.

The development of the capitalist class, with its specialization of industry and use of large machineries, has practically divorced the laborer from nature. He cannot profitably go directly to nature for his products, as he once could. The single-handed laborer can-

not obtain a decent living either upon the farm or in the shop, because his products can be undersold by those of capitalistic producers. Therefore, the laborer has been led to turn to the capitalist for employment, who, in turn, has assumed the responsibility of the laborer's income. It is now the employer who deals directly with nature, and the laborers deal with him. In other words, the capitalistic employer has, in the evolution of industry, come in between the laborer and nature, because, with his organized capital, he can make nature yield more than the laborer could, and for both. This change, however, has made the laborer's income depend upon stipulated wages instead of the individual product, as formerly,—which, of course, puts the capitalist in the same position to the laborer that nature formerly occupied as the source of his income.

Under these changed conditions, when workmen want to increase their income, they cannot profitably go to nature with a little more energy or a few more hours' work; but they must go to the capitalist for higher wages, and, if Nature is to yield more, it is he who must make her do it,— which the adherents of Mr. George might do well to consider. This transition has also practically destroyed the productive individuality of laborers by differentiating them into specialized parts of a complex productive machine. Men can now only work successfully when employed in large masses, subdivided into numerous groups, each being complementary to the other and dependent upon it. By these changes, workmen have been welded into an economic as well as a social class, whose income is drawn from employers and tends to uniformity, according to their industry and social life. This identity of interest and independence of welfare naturally led to associated efforts among laborers, in the same way that the division of labor led to the organization of capital. Labor organizations are therefore both historical and economic accompaniments of the organization of capital, and are as inseparable from the wages system as are factories from capitalistic production.

Labor organizations first arose in England, because capitalistic production and the factory system were first established there; and they have been extended to other countries just as fast as factory methods have been adopted. Inasmuch, however, as they arose in apparent opposition to capital at first, they have been, as I said, violently opposed from many points of view, and especially by the capitalists.

One of the prominent objections urged is that these labor organizations tend to destroy the right of individual contract. Now, if combinations are so injurious to the freedom of contract, why do not capitalists avoid them? Is it not a little singular that employers should be so very jealous of the laborer's freedom and so indifferent to their own? Surely, it is a little odd that industrial organizations should be so injurious to laborers and so beneficial to capitalists. It is a peculiar fact, however, that the freedom and welfare of the laboring classes have most steadily advanced during the period when the power of labor organizations has most increased. This opposition to labor unions for the laborer's good is quite historic. In the early struggles of English laborers to secure a reduction of working time for women and children in factories,—from twelve to eleven hours per day,—the proposition was opposed by statesmen and economists on the ground that it would destroy their freedom to work as many hours as they chose; and more than forty years later the same objections were urged against a ten-hour factory law in Massachusetts. Edward Atkinson and others pleaded for the sacred right of working women to make individual contracts,—just as if factory women and children, or men either, had ever enjoyed this precious boon!

As a matter of fact, no such right has ever existed since the factory system began. It has been rendered impossible by the very nature of specialized and concentrated industry. The right of individual contract means nothing unless it means that every individual can make contracts for himself without regard to those of others. Experience has shown that such contracts are incompatible with a highly complex productive system. The subdivision of labor and interdependence of departments upon each other, the similarity of work and the necessary uniformity of product in each department, the dependence of all upon a single motive power make it necessary to treat all laborers in each branch substantially alike, as a matter of economy, of administration, and uniformity for cost of production. To the modern employer, laborers constitute various parts of a vast productive enterprise, and must work in practical uniformity or not at all. This is not only true of the laborers in a given shop, but it is practically true of laborers in different shops in the same industry, whose products compete in the same market.

Thus it is the economic conditions of production, and not labor combinations, that have destroyed the feasibility of individual con-

tracts; and it is beyond the power of either laborers or capitalists, or both combined, to restore them without abrogating the factory system. Since both capital and labor necessarily move in large aggregations, it is manifestly as irrational as it is uneconomic for organized capital to object to the existence of organized labor. Since individual contracts are impossible, and wages in the same industry, like prices of the same commodities, must needs be practically uniform, it is clearly for the interest of the laborers that their conditions should be governed by the more intelligent of their class; and this organization makes possible.

The truth is, no such freedom on the part of laborers to make individual contracts for themselves, different from those under which their fellow-laborers in the same shop are working, is ever intended by the much heralded phrase "freedom of contract." All that it really means is that employers should have the freedom to take laborers singly, in order to make them jointly accept their terms. In other words, it means that, in making a contract, laborers shall not have the right to be represented by the most competent of their class or craft, so that each one, however ill-informed or incompetent to present his case, shall be dealt with singly by the representative of corporate capital. Thus, while uniformity of price for the same work in the same shop prevails, this method enables the employer to impose the maximum hardship and give the minimum pay, which the superior men can endure: whereas, if the laborers acted collectively, as the capitalists do, the more competent of their number could be chosen to negotiate the contract for the whole, thus preventing the inferior from being used as a means of destroying the contracting power of the superior. And, since a contract made by the superior would always be as favorable as that made by the inferior, or more so, the poorest laborers have everything to gain and nothing to lose by associated or representative action. Any system of jurisprudence which should permit representation by counsel on one side and refuse it on the other would, throughout Christendom, be pronounced a scandalous violation of the principles of equity; yet this relation obtains between employers and employed in the most civilized countries, except so far as it has been rendered impossible by the power of organized labor itself. As both capital and labor now necessarily move in large aggregations, it is manifestly alike irrational and uneconomic for either to object to the organization of the other, especially as the most efficient use of neither can be obtained without it.

Moreover, trades-unions are educational institutions. They tend to develop the intelligence and character of the laborers in many ways. In the first place, they stimulate the study of industrial questions, which involves a considerable amount of reading and general information, and also an intelligent acquaintance with the industrial conditions of their craft. The discussion of the various propositions which arise for consideration tends to develop individual confidence, force of character, and consciousness of industrial rights and social power in all who attend. In short, they are the economic academies of the wage-class, and constitute nearly the only opportunity for economic education laborers have ever had. Consequently, intelligent trade-unionists are frequently better informed upon industrial and political questions, and are less liable to lose their heads in a sentimental whirl, than are the more educated and less experienced middle class.

Trades-unions are also important social centres. In addition to furnishing laborers with the means of better knowledge of their economic condition, and more intelligent methods for improving them, they afford an opportunity for social intercourse otherwise practically impossible. They are to the wage-workers what clubs and other social institutions are to the wealthy. The social intercourse and activity thus created tend to awaken new interests, wants and aspirations, which are not limited to individual members, but gradually extend to home life, thus gradually improving the social condition and the standard of living of the whole class. The pressure of the increased social needs thus silently developed makes a demand for higher wages necessary. Those who first experience this kind of hardship, being the most intelligent and characterful of their class, are usually first to advocate a general demand for higher wages. And, since it is impossible, both from the nature of the factory system and the constitution of labor organizations, to make special terms for individual cases, the only way the most advanced laborers can secure an increase of wages for themselves is to obtain the same for their whole class. All this is not only educating and socializing in its influence, but, by welding the laborers into a social class, it compels the more intelligent and advanced to devote their efforts to improving the material and social condition of their less capable brethren. That is why we always find the most intelligent, most socially advanced, and best paid laborers, in every industry, the most prominent trade-unionists, and, usually, the most active social agitators.

It thus appears that trades-unions are essentially economic institutions. Instead of being inimical to the laborer's interest and a menace to capital, they are a most important feature of modern society. For the same reason that nothing can permanently reduce the price of commodities which does not diminish the cost of production, nothing can permanently advance wages which does not increase the laborer's cost of living. It is by their opportunity-creating influences, and not by their power to limit the number of laborers, that trades-unions ever permanently affect wages. Of course, they resort to strikes as a means of enforcing their demands, when petitions and other moderate forms of request have failed, because a considerable portion of the laborers are acting under the pressure of a social necessity, which, if not satisfied, will involve a protracted social conflict. It will not be disputed that strikes are often unwisely and badly managed, that dishonest men, otherwise conspicuously unfit for leadership, sometimes get to the head of labor organizations. But is this not true of every other form of social and industrial organization? Are capitalist organizations free from these charges? Do they not often act rashly, involving the disaster of innocent investors? Have they not their Warners and Wards? Cannot the same impeachment be urged with quite as much truth against political organizations and social clubs? Would any one venture to say that, because there are dishonest railroad presidents and corporation treasurers, the combination of capital should be prohibited? Why should workingmen be expected to be more honest and wise than any other class in the community? Why should perfection be demanded of them, when liability to err is conceded to everybody else? Since the other social institutions are to be judged by their virtues, why should labor organizations be judged by their mistakes? Considering their limited opportunities and the extent of the forces arrayed against them, the wonder is not that the laborers have made so many mistakes, but rather that they have succeeded at all. These mistakes are not a necessary part of labor organizations any more than dishonest ministers are a necessary part of Christianity. On the contrary, they arise from ignorance and mistaken notions among the laborers, which trades-unions are the most efficient means of correcting. Hence we find to-day that in those industries where trades unions are best organized, and exercise the greatest influence, strikes are fewest, wages are highest, hours of labor are shortest, and the relation between

workers and employers most confidential and harmonious. Trades-unions, therefore, are not only legitimate economic and social institutions, but they are an integral part of the industrial organization of modern society. They are the most economic counterpart of that combination of capital whose existence and development are equally necessary to harmonious social advancement.

It is simple folly, therefore, to regard trades-unions as necessarily a menace to industry and social welfare: they are constitutionally important educational institutions, and can never be a power for other than good through the discipline they must encounter. Since labor organizations are the most effectual and nearly the only means of furnishing opportunities for economic education to the wage-workers, instead of trying to degrade and suppress them, it is alike the interest and duty of both the employing class and the community to encourage their development and increase their usefulness.

8. RELATION OF TRADES-UNIONS TO APPRENTICES.

BY PROF. E. W. BEMIS, OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

As one of the chief causes of opposition to trades-unions is their supposed influence in limiting the number of apprentices, it is important to investigate the question. Such previous studies of the subject as have come to the writer's notice are to be found in the reports of the bureaus of labor statistics in a few of our States.*

The principal addition which the writer would make to these bureau reports is drawn from the replies of 48 of the 50 or 60 trades-unions in this country having a national or international organization, and from personal interviews with such labor union leaders as Messrs. Strasser, Gompers, McGuire, and McNeil.

Before giving the result of such inquiries, it may be well to say a word of the change in apprenticeship brought about by modern changes in industry. The whole tendency of modern business methods towards the destruction of the entire apprenticeship system is proving too strong to be resisted. Trades become more and more subdivided. It becomes unprofitable for an employer to teach all parts of a business to a workman; while the latter, in view of the frequent changes in machinery and in business methods, stands more in need of general intelligence and manual dexterity than of a minute knowledge of each of the fifty or more subdivisions of an industry. Professor W. T. Harris once remarked, "Whereas formerly it required seven years to learn a trade, now one must be able to learn a new occupation in seven weeks." Yet in some lines of work, such as the glass-working, iron-moulding, printing, and building trades, there is not now, and is not likely soon to be, enough subdivision and use of machinery to render special training unnecessary. Apprenticeship has until recently been considered by all to be the only means of securing this practical skill. It is in this gradually lessening number of trades, where apprenticeship is still practicable and necessary for good workmanship, unless trade-schools can accomplish the same end,

*Notably, New York, 1886, New Jersey, 1887, California, 1887–88, Wisconsin, 1887–88, Ohio, 1878, 1884, Missouri, 1888, Connecticut, 1890, and in the forthcoming report for 1891 of the New Jersey Bureau, wherein apprenticeship in the glass-blowers' trade is treated.

that some of our American trades-unions demand a thorough apprenticeship. In connection with rules which require that the apprentice must spend a certain number of years, usually three or four (instead of seven as of old), in learning his trade, and which aim to protect both employer and apprentice during this time, our unions in some cases have other rules which restrict the proportion of apprentices to journeymen in each shop. It is this latter class of rules that have brought so much odium on labor organizations. What are the facts?

Of the 50 to 60 trades-unions in the United States having a national or international organization, 48, with a membership of over 500,000, have made returns to the writer. Most of the other unions are small or known to place no restrictions on apprentices. Of this 500,000, embracing the great body of organized labor in this country, outside of the Knights of Labor, only about 83,000 men in 17 unions, or 16 1-2 per cent. of all, report any rules in the national body restricting apprentices; and only 71,000 men in 14 unions, or 14 per cent. of the 500,000, report success in the execution of their rules on the subject. The other 3 unions report comparative failure. It is well known that outside of a very few trades the Knights of Labor, in number 100,000 to 200,000, place no restriction on apprentices. Restriction is left to the locals in 10 of the trades-unions, with about 197,000 members, or 39 per cent., and is either not attempted, or, if attempted, is often not carried out in all those locals. 21 unions, with over 222,000 members, or nearly 45 per cent., report that they have no restrictions whatever. These 21, together with their membership, are presented in Table I.

TABLE 1.

Name.	*Membership.*
International Furniture Workers' Union of America	Not reported
United Mine-workers of America	40,000
International Brotherhood of Boiler-makers and Iron Ship Builders	8,000
National Federation of Silk-workers	1,107
Locomotive Engineers	30,000
Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union	14,000
Granite Cutters' National Union (about)	15,000
Locomotive Firemen	22,000
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen	20,000
Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America	11,500
Glass Employees' Association of America	450
Waiters' and Bar-tenders' National Union	Not reported
Building Laborers' Hod-carriers' Union	" "
Order of Railway Conductors	16,000
Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers *	27,000
Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern-makers (about)	2,000
National Federation of Silk-workers	No report
Cotton Mule Spinners of Fall River	800
Axe and Edge-tool Makers' National Union of America	No report
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (in United States about)	2,000
Journeymen Bakers' National Union	12,000
Total (about)	221,857

*The Boston branch has 1,800 members.

It will be noticed that 100,000, or nearly half of the above, are railway employees, and 40,000 are mine-workers, where apprenticeship is impracticable. The secretary of the Glass Employees' Association of America, Mr. L. J. Fegan, writes from Pittsburg: —

We have no restrictions other than that we require apprentices in piece-work establishments to receive the same price as journeymen. While the latter provision does no injustice to the employees, they not having to pay for work not performed, nevertheless it protects the workers to the extent that employers would prefer competent workers in preference to beginners. . . . If there are no restrictions, and the practice of putting in apprentices is customary, it has a tendency to reduce wages. When there are two or three men for one job, then the competition for positions becomes acute, and workers from necessity are compelled to accept any pay offered. In one branch of the packing industry in glass works (owing to lack of organization) it is a rare thing to see a man over thirty-five years of age. Young people are preferred, owing to their working cheaper and their superior activity. Young men learn the business, and about the time they have a family dependent on them they are compelled to seek other employment for a livelihood.

We begin to see why so many trades-unions restrict the number of apprentices.

The 10 unions, with about 200,000 men, which abandon all regulation of apprentices to locals, are given in Table II.

TABLE II.

Name of Union.	*Membership.*
Drillers' and Quarrymen's Union	4,200
International Machinists' Union of America	1,000
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	83,000
International Typographical Union	27,800
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	35,000
Cigar-makers' International Union of America	24,624
Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America	15,000
Sheet-iron and Cornice Workers' International Association	3,000
Journeymen Stone-cutters' Association	3,000
International Brotherhood of Machinery Moulders of North America	
Total*	196,624

Only those branches of the cigar-makers' organization which make the better grade of cigars attempt any restriction at all of apprentices. Where restriction is attempted, it is usual to allow one apprentice to a shop, and two apprentices where from five to ten journeymen are employed. The term of apprenticeship being only three years, and the natural working life of cigar-makers over

*In 1888 the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union (16,000 members) had rules placing them under this table. No later report has been received. This would make the total over 210,000.

fifteen years, there is in the application of this rule opportunity for a considerable yearly increase in the number of cigar-makers.

Of the 11 local Typographical Unions in New York State, investigated in 1886 by the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 8 reported some restriction of apprentices. The very moderate rule common to most of these was one apprentice to four or five journeymen, the term of learning being four years. But such rules are of comparatively little avail in keeping down the number of printers because of the large number trained in the country newspaper offices, where, in the absence of unions, no rules are applied. All the eleven unions, as stated in this report, admitted to their membership, on equal terms with any others, those boys that had learned their trade in non-union establishments.

The machinists seem to place no restriction upon apprentices; but the secretary of their union, Mr. Morse of Brooklyn, writes: —

Personally, I must say that I very much deplore the present system in most of our large machine shops throughout the country. For instance, a boy goes into one of these large shops to serve an apprenticeship of three years. He goes in with the understanding, in many cases, that at the end of that time he will be a finished mechanic, able to command the wages of such. Instead of dealing fairly with the boy and giving him a chance to get the first rudiments of the trade he has chosen,— for that is all I claim any boy does get during his apprenticeship, be his chance ever so good,— he is put at some machine or bench, as the case may be, and kept there for three years. Now, sir, I ask you, as an intelligent man, what on earth is that boy good for? Can we wonder at the number of tramp machinists — for that is what we call them in the trade — going about this country? It is a deplorable condition for our trade to be sinking into. Now, the remedy for this, to my mind, lies in the thorough organization of our trade. I do think there should be restrictions and rules regulating apprentices, and stringent ones, too. I am quite sure that our International Union will take up this matter at our next convention.

The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, with 15,000 members, has no national rules on apprenticeship, but recommends to the locals to secure the indenturing of apprentices for four years, and to limit the number as soon as each local union may see fit. But these recommendations are little heeded. The general secretary, Mr. J. F. Elliott, writes from Baltimore: —

We desire to have an apprentice law that will re-establish the indenturing of apprentices and the turning out of skilled tradesmen; but the tendencies of the times point to a different condi-

tion, and the trade-school is gaining favor all over. Wherever our locals are strong enough, we enforce our laws and endeavor to make the indenturing of apprentices the rule, but so far have met with poor success. I notice that the bosses are beginning to find that the rapid introducing into the market of a vast number of unskilled painters is affecting their interests, and that this element, not being able to hold positions as journeymen, opens up independent shops and takes work under any condition,— a matter which seriously affects the interests of the bosses.

Each local of the Sheet-iron and Cornice Workers' Union has its own rule, or absence of rule, on apprentices. The Pittsburg, Pa., district now allows one apprentice every four years to three journeymen instead of to four, as formerly.

In Table III. are given the three national unions that have some rules limiting the number of apprentices, but, according to their secretaries, fail to enforce them.

TABLE III.

Name of Union.	*Membership.*
Saddle and Harness Makers of America	1,500
Hat-makers' National Association of the United States	2,994
Shoe-lasters' Union	7,850
Total	12,344

The Hat-makers' National Association reports almost total failure in the enforcement of any limitation upon apprentices. The Shoe-lasters' Union has a stringent rule that "no branch of the organization shall give permission to or allow any of its members to instruct, teach, or in any way aid any person or persons in learning to last; except in case a member of said branch wishes his son to learn to last, which wish may be granted by said branch, should said branch conclude so to do. If said wish is granted, it shall then be lawful for any member of said branch to teach said son to last, if for good and sufficient reasons the father of said son is personally unable so to do." But, in justifying this rule as a necessary "protection against a surplus of labor in the trade," the secretary, Mr. Edward L. Daly of Boston, remarks that "the manufacturers teach more apprentices than their business requires." This remark, and facts of the shoe business known in a general way to the writer from frequent visits to the shoe towns of Massachusetts, lead him to believe that the rules of the Shoe-lasters' Union keep few, if any, who so desire from learning the trade. The Massachusetts census of 1885, the most complete census ever taken in any part of this country, reports 6,032 shoe-lasters in

Massachusetts and only one apprentice,— a sufficient proof of the break-down of the restrictions of the Shoe-lasters' Union, for of course hundreds enter the trade yearly without formal apprenticeship.

The National Association of Saddle and Harness Makers of America report very poor success in enforcing their rule of one apprentice to a shop, one to the first six journeymen, and one to every ten additional journeymen. The secretary, Mr. George Joscelyn of Boston, makes the following valuable observations: —

In the East and North we have no such thing as apprentices at all. The system largely prevails in the South and portions of the West, but, as practised, is of no practical benefit to the boys, as far as acquiring skill in the business is concerned, and is an injury to the trade at large, by reason of the fact that, as soon as the boys get where they ought to have more pay for the work done, they are dropped, and a new boy taken on to go through the same routine. Thus an army of unskilled boys is turned loose every year who must live, and will work for any wage offered that will enable them to do so. The worst system that I know of prevails in the city of Baltimore. A boy is put to work in charge of another boy, and works three years. Then he in turn is given from three to five more boys to instruct; and, as each completes his servitude, he takes up the rôle of instructor in his turn. The pay starts at $3.50 to $4 per week, and increases 50 cents each six months to the end of the three years, when it stops,— a request for more wages after that always resulting in a discharge.

When you realize that, with good advantages to learn, it takes a man not less than ten years to become a good general workman in the harness trade,— and many men do not acquire first-class skill even in that time,— the folly and injustice of the system are apparent. From a knowledge of the business gained by thirty-three years' experience I consider our restrictions as liberal; and, if strictly followed out, they would be a benefit to the boy who wished to learn and to the trade at large.

In Table IV. are given the membership and ratio allowed of apprentices to journeymen of those unions that claim to be quite successful in their efforts at restriction.

TABLE IV.

Name.	*Membership.*	*Length of Apprenticeship.*	*Ratio of Apprentices to Journeymen.*
American Flint Glass Workers' Union	7,300	4 years	1 to 4 or 5 or 7, according to the local union.
Bottle-blowers (Eastern division)	2,200	3 to 5 years	1 new apprentice each year to shop of 9 journeymen. If over 9 journeymen, 1 apprentice each year to every 15.

TABLE IV.— *Continued.*

Name.	*Membership.*	*Length of Apprenticeship.*	*Ratio of Apprentices to Journeymen.*
International Trade Association of Hat-finishers of America	4,154	3 years	1 to a department, except the "finishing."
Table-knife Grinders' Union	323		None but members' sons, and apparently not all of them.
German American Typographia (about)	1,100	4 years	1 to an office and 1 extra to every 6 journeymen.
Pattern-makers' Union	2,500	4 years	1 to 4, but not over 4 to a shop.
Iron-moulders' Union (about)	28,000	4 years	1 to a shop and 1 extra for every 8 journeymen.
Hat-makers' Protective Union of Philadelphia			No particulars given.
Amalgamated Association of Elastic Web-finishers	228		1 apprentice to 10 looms in England, but in U.S. immigrants and sons of workmen supply the trade.
Tack-makers' Union	212		Members can train only their own sons by vote of union.
Horse-collar Makers' Union	2,000	3 years	1 to a shop, or 1 to 7 journeymen, and not over 3 to a shop.
Journeymen Tailors' Union	20,000	4 to 5 years	1 apprentice to 1 journeyman.
National Silk and Fur Hat Trimmers' Trade Association of America	663	4 years	1 to 10, or 1 to a shop.
International Wood-carvers' Association of North America	1,400	3 years	1 to 5, but only 3 to a shop.
Wool Hat Finishers' Association of the United States	600 (in 1889)	3 years	1 to a shop, or 1 to 10.

Although some of the rules seem quite restrictive, there are not nearly as many apprentices as even these rules would permit. In Massachusetts, for example, in the hat business there are 226 technically known as hatters and 29 apprentices. But there are 875 other hat-makers, such as silk and fur hat makers, finishers, trimmers, pressers, etc., and only three apprentices instead of fully thirty times that number, as the union rules allow. In this as in nearly every case, we find that the death-blow to apprenticeship is not struck by the unions, but by the employers, and by conditions of business which bring workers into a trade without any regular training or apprenticeship whatever. Similarly there were in Massachusetts, according to the census of 1885, only 16 apprentices to 769 journeymen pattern-makers, 1 to 48; 58 apprentices

to 2,997 iron-moulders, or 1 to 51.7; and 16 apprentices to 408 wood-carvers, or 1 to 25.5. There were 133 apprentices to 1,624 journeymen tailors, or 1 to 12, and 455 apprentices to 4,116 printers and compositors, or 1 to 9. So that, outside the two last, there were not, by a large number, so many apprentices as the union rules allow. The Eastern and Western divisions of the glass-blowers united in 1890 as an assembly of the Knights of Labor, and after long and severe contests have secured from most of their employers the ratio of one new apprentice each year to fifteen journeymen. As the term of apprenticeship lasts five years, there are, then, five apprentices to fifteen journeymen, which will double the number of journeymen every twenty years, despite the natural number of deaths.

It will be noticed that few returns appear from the building trades, due chiefly to the fact that many of these have only local and not national organization. A few of these are included in the report on apprentices of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1887–88. The following from the report sufficiently summarizes it, and emphasizes the fact already brought out that comparatively few trades-unions make any pretence of restricting apprenticeship: —

The following table shows that, out of 48 trade organizations, only 14, or less than one-third, have rules or regulations relating to apprentices or limiting their number. The bricklayers' is the first of these on the list. They limit the number to two apprentices to each master mason or employer, no matter how many mechanics he may have in his employ; and they must be the sons of bricklayers. Another rule they have is that "the right of any person to take an apprentice, except a master mason, will not be recognized by this association." Under this rule, it would appear that a journeyman bricklayer is not allowed to teach his trade to his own son, unless he could be one of the two allowed to the master mason who employs him. The caulkers' rule is still more stringent, as they allow only one to each employer. The cigar-makers limit the number to 1 to each shop, and 1 to 10 men; the glass-blowers, 1 to 15 men; the pattern-makers, 1 to 4; the iron-moulders, 1 to each shop, and 1 to 8 men; the coopers, 1 son to each member; the tailors, 1 to each member, regardless of relationship. The hatters allow 2 in every shop, and the stone-cutters the same number in every yard; and wood-carvers, 1 to a shop, and 2 if 6 or more men are employed.

In view of the common belief that the building trades are successful in limiting the number of apprentices, it is very significant

to note the facts of the Massachusetts census as collated by the writer in Table No. V.

TABLE V.

Name of Trade.	*Number of Journeymen.*	*Number of Apprentices.*	*Ratio of Apprentices to Journeymen.*
Blacksmiths	5,550	196	1 to 28.3
Carpenters	21,042	340	1 to 62
Machinists	15,751	788	1 to 20
Masons	6,205	59	1 to 105
Painters (about)	10,000	119	1 to 89
Plumbers	1,787	397	1 to 44
Printers	8,824	455	1 to 19
Tinsmiths	1,822	112	1 to 16
All others in manufacturing and mechanical industries	323,603	3,212	1 to 101

In the report for 1886 of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 28 unions, organized with 64 local branches, were investigated. Only 8 unions, through 17 local branches, had any restriction on the number of apprentices. In New Jersey, according to the Labor Bureau Report for 1887, 59 out of 150 trades-unions "regulated," but by no means in all cases restricted, the number of apprentices. Often only the time and manner of training are regulated. Likewise 27 out of 178 local assemblies of the Knights of Labor regulated apprenticeship. A member of the New Jersey Bureau, Mr. Joseph Fischer, writes (under date of Sept. 21, 1891) that, aside from the glass-blowers, there has been no new development in the direction of apprenticeship during the last few years, "probably due to the fact that little progress has been made in organization. While trades-unions remain about the same numerically, the Knights of Labor order has very materially decreased in membership. A very pessimistic view seems to pervade workmen circles just now. I hear it frequently stated that in a few years, owing to the development of machinery, there will be no such thing as a skilled trade."

As a final proof that the trades-unions are losing interest to a great degree in the restriction of apprentices, reference may be made to the small number of strikes for this purpose. In 1881 to 1886 inclusive, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1886, there were 22,304 strikes, and of these only 250, or 1.1 per cent., had any connection with apprentices. 63 of these were unsuccessful. Of these 250 strikes, 157 were in the building trades, 28 in glass, 15 in tobacco, 12 in clothing, 9 in metals, 7 in printing and publishing. Of the 9,384 strikes in New York 1885–89, as reported by the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1889, only 114, or 1.2 per cent., were connected with apprenticeships.

Of these 114, only 9, or 7.9 per cent., were successful, and 9 were partly so, while 47.1 per cent. of all strikes were successful, and 15.3 per cent. partly so.

An investigator previously quoted, Mr. Fischer of the New Jersey Bureau of Labor Statistics, truly writes: "As far as my observation extends,— and labor leaders are never tired of asserting it,— the only advocates practically of apprenticeship are the trades-unions, even though their reasons for doing so may be selfish, [said reasons being] the restriction or limitation to the number of journeymen."

The attempt of trades-unions in England to limit apprentices seems to be even feebler than in this country. That acknowledged authority, Mr. George Howell, thus concludes a thorough discussion of the English situation in his "Conflicts of Labor and Capital": "(1) The manifold rules and regulations of trades-unions do not materially interfere with the free admission of apprentices into the several trades of the country. (2) No dearth of workmen is caused in any of these trades by their restrictive action. (3) Apprenticeship is absolutely necessary for the purpose of acquiring a practical knowledge of a trade. Without this there can be no real guarantee for good and effective workmanship."

It is in this gradually lessening number of trades, where apprenticeship is still practicable and necessary for good workmanship, such as glass-working, iron-moulding, printing, hat-making, and some of the building trades, that some of our American trades-unions demand a thorough apprenticeship. This is in every way commendable. In connection with rules which require that the apprentice must spend a certain number of years, usually three or four, in learning his trade, and which protect both the employer and the apprentice during this time, our unions in some cases, as already noticed, have other rules restricting the proportion of apprentices to journeymen in each shop. Thus the Horse-collar Makers' National Union allows one apprentice at least to every shop, and one to every seven journeymen, but not over three to a shop. Apprentices serve three years. Sufficient examples have been given in the preceding pages.

The general reasons for restriction of the number of apprentices are two,— to secure a thorough training of those who do try to learn, and to keep up or raise wages by limiting the supply of skilled workers in a given trade. The first reason has much force. If an employer can take as many apprentices as he chooses, he will often fill his shop with half-trained boys, and discharge higher-

priced adults. Such action is demoralizing in many ways. Only half-trained men would ever be produced by this process.

As for the very few unions which go farther and restrict the number of apprentices beyond the point necessary to secure good training, probably no full defence can be offered; but there is much more excuse for this position than is commonly supposed. The workman is only imitating the trust and combination of capital, now so common for restricting output, and with more excuse; for the laborer is in more need of improvement of condition than the capitalist.

As long as there are idle competent workmen in a trade who are willing to work, as is said to be the case in the few very restrictive unions, it is natural to desire to prevent the bringing of others into the trade. The New York Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1886 found that there were then 3,710 apprentices and helpers to 7,599 journeymen printers in 1,255 establishments outside of the large city dailies. "The totals," says the report, "furnish reasons for the unions' attitude in regard to the limitation of apprentices, and make it easier to understand the deep-seated prejudice against the unrestricted employment of boy labor." When a trade is in an overcrowded condition, it might be better in the end for even the would-be apprentice to enter some of the many new industries constantly rising with increasing wealth and wants. This will be no great hardship, for the children of workers in a trade often prefer another occupation.

I am told by a Philadelphia builder, and by Mr. McGuire of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, that by organization and limitation of apprenticeship and admission to the union the bricklayers of Philadelphia have raised their wages within a few years from $1.75 to $3.50 a day. Mr. Hotchkiss, Labor Commissioner of Connecticut, tells us how by similar means the employees of a certain organized industry in his State keep their wages at $3 and $3.50 a day, when wages for work of similar difficulty in unorganized industries are only $1.00 to $1.25, without appreciable increase in the price of the finished product. Many students of business conditions hold that nearly, if not quite, as many adults find employment in a trade where wages are high and apprenticeship regulated as where wages are low and any number of helpers are employed. Workmen cannot be expected to wait until the ideally best mode of raising wages is possible. They clutch at the first means offered. Trades-unionists are fond of saying that the professional classes

are not in a position to throw stones in this matter; for they limit competition by raising the standard of admission to the bar, medicine, etc. To raise the standard of admission to a trade is declared impracticable, save in a partial degree, through apprenticeship rules. Limitation of number is the only very efficient restriction. But, whatever be the motives of many advocates of higher conditions for admission to the bar, the public would never sanction these conditions save as they produce better men.

Again, the habit of restriction is likely to lead workmen to realize the need of greatly restricting the immigration of those of a low standard of living,— a measure which nearly all American economists believe is of vital importance in elevating American labor.

Finally, we come to a brief consideration of the best way of securing that skilled labor which the apprenticeship system, through no fault of the unions, now fails to give. The only way seems to be through manual training in the public schools, followed by special trade instruction in private or possibly publicly endowed trade-schools. The folly of relying on apprenticeship, even if that were possible, was illustrated in returns from 362 workmen, in over 40 kinds of mechanical and manufacturing industries, published in the Wisconsin Labor Bureau Report for 1887–88. Only 130 report that their employers give sufficient encouragement to the apprentices in their employ, while 232 report a failure of the employers in this matter. A similar failure on the part of employees is also there reported.

As an interesting illustration of how a trade-school may help to solve the problem of trade instruction, the following quotation is made from the address of Colonel Auchmuty a year ago before the American Social Science Association. He said:—

We will take the plumbing trade, one of the most difficult of trades, and one which might more appropriately be called a profession, so varied is the knowledge and so great is the intelligence required. The plumber must know how to work with lead, iron, copper, and brass, and must understand the properties of these metals. He must know, for instance, that lead and iron pipe will not hold together; and, to make a tight connection, a ring or "ferule" of brass must be inserted. In dealing with lead, he must be able to work sheet-lead in different forms and join two sheets together either with solder or, where a receptacle for acids is wanted, by a process called "lead burning." He must be able to join lengths of lead pipe by what are called "wipe joints." These joints are not easy to make. Let some "handy man" take a

cushion in one hand, leaving two fingers loose, lest they may press too heavily on the joint, and hold in the other a ladle of molten solder, and proceed to join two pieces of pipe. He will find he has undertaken a difficult task. Then remember that these joints are made in all sorts of places,— on the wall, near the floor, close to the ceiling,— also that there are complicated branch joints, and the difficulty of learning how to make them will not seem less. Lead pipe, too, must be bent in various shapes so neatly that the bore is not reduced nor the pipe split. The plumber must also know how to join lengths of cast-iron pipe by "caulking" or by "rust joints," according to the purpose for which it is to be used; and he must know how to cut, thread, and bend brass and wrought-iron pipe. Yet all this work can be "listed" under fifteen heads, as follows: 1. Lead seams; 2. Overcast joints; 3. Cup joints; 4, 5. Traps; 6 Horizontal branch joints; 7. Upright wipe joints on pipe placed at various angles; 8. Upright branch joints; 9. Wiping on a stop-cock; 10. Wiping a flange on a two-inch pipe; 11. Wiping on a ferule; 12. Caulking; 13. Putting in an overflow pipe in a safe waste; 14. Cutting and threading wrought-iron pipe; 15. Bending pipe. At the conclusion of this course, fancy work is done by the more proficient.

When each of these fifteen exercises can be done well, the pupil is ready, so far as his manual skill is concerned, to put up fixtures; that is, to set and connect bath-tubs, sinks, etc., with supply and waste pipes. But manual skill is only a portion of the qualifications the plumber must possess. Besides being able to join these fixtures and his pipes, he must know how to place them. He is dealing with steam which may scatter destruction and with gases that contain the germ of disease. Common sense would also tell us that this knowledge can be taught better and more surely in a trade-school than it can be learned by observation and experience in a workshop.

The claim of Colonel Auchmuty, as of another teacher of similar work, President James H. Smart of Purdue University, given in 1888 before the National Convention of the Bureaus of Labor Statistics, is that a few months at a trade-school, followed by a few months' experience in actual work, will give any one of 18 or 19 years of age a better training than a four years' apprenticeship. In Colonel Auchmuty's School on First Avenue, between 67th and 68th Streets, New York, there were, in 1890–91, 589 pupils in bricklaying, plastering, plumbing, carpentry, house, sign, and fresco painting, stone-cutting, blacksmith's work, and tailoring. This school has now been running ten years, at a net cost, above tuition fees, of several thousand dollars a year. The Pratt Institute in Brooklyn had 51 day pupils and 201 evening pupils in 1890–91 in its department of mechanic arts opened in February, 1888

where instruction was given in mechanic arts, carpentry, turning and pattern-making, forging, machine work, bricklaying, plastering, plumbing, house and fresco painting. The trade-school of the Philadelphia Builders' Exchange was opened in 1890 with 129 pupils, of which 61 were in the plumbing department, 31 in bricklaying, and 21 in carpentry. The school graduated 63 in June, 1891, as follows: plastering, 3; painting, 2; stone-cutting, 3; blacksmith's work, 4; carpentry, 14; plumbing, 27; bricklaying, 9.

The Rindge School lately presented to Cambridge, Mass., and the Williamson Trade-school in Philadelphia, endowed with over $2,000,000, are to be trade-schools, as distinct from manual training schools, where simply general dexterity and education of the whole being through training of the eye and hand are attempted. For thirty years Messrs. Hoe, of printing-press fame in New York, who employ 250 boys, mostly sons of their workmen, have had a night school for them. Then there is the Technical School of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company at Baltimore, an account of which is given in the report of Dr. W. T. Barnard on "Technical Education in Industrial Pursuits." A similar school is said to be maintained by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at Altoona, Penn. The Master Plumbers' Association of Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, support plumbing schools in their respective cities. The number and success of technical and trade-schools in Europe are well known. A tanners' chemical school is to be established at Newark, N.J., by the Morocco Manufacturing Association. Just as all our States support professional schools for farmers, and some States in the West do the same for lawyers and engineers, so our States may be called on ultimately to support trade-schools for mechanics. The movement towards industrial schools is evidently on the eve of great growth. What is to be the attitude of our trades-unions towards such schools?

The unions are becoming more and more friendly to manual training, but seem to be somewhat suspicious of trade-schools, as likely to lower wages by increase of competition. Yet the opposition is not so great as commonly supposed, and is rapidly changing to support. Undoubtedly, Colonel Auchmuty's school has been much opposed; but it may have been partly due to a faulty method, on his part, of advertising the school as a means of dispensing with high-priced labor. He denies that he has ever thus presented his work; but in the *Century* for January, 1889, he thus

wrote: "Living is made dearer, the poor are made poorer, by union rules. In nearly all callings where skilled labor is required, it can safely be asserted that a journeyman receiving $4 a day and working with a trade-school graduate at $2 a day could produce as much as two journeymen now do for $8,— a saving in cost of $2, or 25 per cent." No wonder that the unionist opposes any such effort to benefit the employer, or the consumer, at the expense of wages. Furthermore, it is sound economic policy for the worker to prefer high wages to sharing, as only part consumer of his products, in the cheapness that might result from lower wages. But it is not likely that a general extension of trade-school instruction would in the long run lower wages. Rather, by imparting greater intelligence and skill to the wage-worker, would such schools the better prepare the way for strong trades-unions and increased productiveness.

That this is probable, and that the working classes will indorse manual training when rightly presented to them, is the belief of such able and well-informed labor leaders as Messrs. Powderly, Gompers, and McGuire. The following associated press despatch confirmatory of the above strikes my eye as this goes to press:—

Boston, September 23. An understanding in relation to trade-schools has been arrived at by the Master Builders' Association and the Bricklayers' Union. It is the first instance in the history of the labor movement in New England that a trades-union and an organization of employees have agreed upon this question. Trade-schools are to be established and opened evenings. All regular indentured apprentices are to be given instruction therein. None but regular apprentices shall be allowed to enter these schools. All pupils shall be given instruction in the theory and science of the trade they propose to learn.

Mr. W. H. Rand, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, informs the writer that he believes the reason why European trades-unions now favor trade-schools, as they in fact almost universally do, while in America the majority as yet oppose them or do not actively favor them, is that in Europe the trade-school sessions are usually held at night and attended mostly by journeymen and regular apprentices. This seems to be the idea of the Boston arrangement just noted. As soon as our trade-schools cease to have the flavor among laborers of a capitalistic effort to reduce wages, and assume their rightful place as a means of effecting that very elevation of skill and thorough training which the apprentice-

ship laws now in vain urged by the workingmen are designed to accomplish, a great popular support will come to the schools.

As an illustration of the present attitude of the English trades-unions, we may refer to the resolution of the British Trade-union Congress in 1886, which strongly indorsed technical education and trade-schools. The views of this Congress deserve quotation:

> It has been proved that Germany has sometimes beaten us in neutral markets from this cause alone. If a certain section of politicians would devote their time to advocating the establishment of technical schools for teaching the sons of our people those subjects which have to do directly with their various trades instead of denouncing the foreigner and setting people against each other, they would do far more service to the State. We have no greater friend than knowledge and no more bitter enemy than ignorance. In order to hold our own with the nations of the world, we must have the same facilities, to obtain for our children and young men both elementary and technical knowledge.

Representatives of these British unions, notably Mr. T. C. Barnes, general secretary of the Glass-makers' Association of the United Kingdom, and George Shipton of the Amalgamated Society of House Decorators and Painters of the London Trade Council, advocated before a recent Parliament Committee even compulsory instruction of boys in their trade by trade-schools. Representatives of trade-schools rendered similar testimony to the friendship of the unions. Also in the United States 72 replies, representing 10 trades, expressed in 1886 to the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics a favorable inclination towards technical trade-schools: 37 replies, representing 13 trades, opposed them. In view of the newness of trade-schools in 1889, and the mistakes and weakness naturally resulting from youth, these replies were most encouraging.

To sum up, we have found no need of any scare lest our trades-unions unduly restrict apprenticeship, for very many of the unions do not restrict at all; and, when they do, there are not usually anywhere near so many apprentices as the union rules allow. We have also concluded that technical trade-schools may do a vast deal of good in replacing, so far as the times require, the old-fashioned and now defunct system of apprenticeship, and that the unions are likely, if the manual and trade-school movement is judiciously handled, to come gradually to the approval of these schools.

In the debate on Professor Bemis's paper, further remarks were made concerning the trade-school of Colonel Auchmuty, who was not present to reply. The following letter from him is therefore printed here, in justice to him: —

LENOX, MASS., Sept. 9, 1891.

JOHN H. FINLEY, Esq.:

Dear Sir,— You ask in your favor of the 4th, just received, if the effect of trade-schools is to diminish wages, and if I claim the lowering of wages to be an object for the existence of my schools. In reply, I would say that the assertion that I am trying to reduce wages has often been made by labor leaders. The reduction of wages is neither the object nor the result of trade-school instruction, nor have I ever heard that it was. When young men graduate from the New York trade-schools, they are not capable, as a rule, of doing a full day's work. They can do as good work as the average journeymen, but they cannot work as fast. Consequently, they must get work as "improvers," to use a trade term. While serving their time, usually a few months, as improvers, they are not entitled to full wages; but I find that they often command higher wages than young men who are finishing a four years' course in a workshop, because they can do better and more trained work. So well is this fact known that from one to two hundred young men, who have been from two to three years in workshops, come to the evening classes of the New York trade-schools each winter.

The only money gift the New York trade-schools have ever received was a check for twenty-five dollars some eight years ago. I do not write this complainingly, as I have made it known that I do not desire subscriptions; and I would have returned the check, had it not been sent in a peculiarly kind way. The trade-schools have received presents of plumbing appliances, models, etc., and have had invaluable aid from master and journeymen mechanics, but no money. The tailoring class is managed and supported by the merchant tailors: I give the space occupied rent free.

The charge that I maintain the trade-schools to get low-priced labor is a very old one. Of the 3,000 young men who have attended the schools, I have, perhaps, given employment to 200, their time averaging about three months each. My circular states that, after learning how work should be done, a short term of service at real work is necessary to gain experience and speed of workmanship. The problem which confronts New Yorkers is how to get that term. Young men from country towns are free to take work where they can find it; but in the large cities the trade-unions make it difficult for my young men to obtain employment, and in some cases drive them from the workshops. To help these young men gain the needed practice, I have, as already stated, given employment to about 200, paying them wages based on what they could do. I do not find that I have got work as cheaply as I could have had it done by contract; but I can say that it was better done than any contract work I have ever succeeded in get-

ting. The work of these young men also refuted another charge: that a trade could not be taught at a trade-school.

I find that in country towns my graduates often get higher than the average wages. In the cities, as you know, the unions have established one rate for workmen, whether good or bad. I advise the city-bred young men, when they graduate, to apply for admission to the unions, and, if successful, to endeavor to influence them for good. If refused admission or if persecuted, I advise them to take work wherever they can get it and on such terms as they can get, remembering that they have a right to work in the land of their birth, even if the trade-unions, composed, as they are, mostly of foreigners, deny that right.

I would like to add one word more. I believe it of vital importance to this nation that the trades should be recruited from our own countrymen, and that they should be open to well-educated, well-brought-up young men. Such young men have remained too long at school or are unfitted by their surroundings to do the drudgery required for the first two years from the workshop lad. They have, however, been quick to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the New York trade-schools, and have come in steadily increasing numbers from every part of the United States and Canada. If labor is ever to be made honorable, it will be by bringing well-educated young men into the trades.

(Signed) Sincerely yours,

R. T. Auchmuty.

The debate on these Labor Organization Papers, though important, was not reported, and cannot here be given. The Paper of Judge Dexter was read in the Jurisprudence Department.

II. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

1. RECENT STUDIES REGARDING THE NATURE AND TREATMENT OF HYDROPHOBIA.

BY PAUL GIBIER, M.D., DIRECTOR OF NEW YORK PASTEUR INSTITUTE.

(Read Sept. 4, 1891.)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,— It is with much pleasure I have accepted the proposition to address you on the nature of hydrophobia. I doubt if, when I came to this country two years ago, I would have accepted such an invitation as warmly as I have the present; and I will at once explain why. I had considered the question of hydrophobia much better understood here, in a general way, than it is. As a matter of fact, this disease is very rare here,— rare, if we consider the vast extent of territory covered by the United States and our population. The few cases of hydrophobia found here explain to a certain degree why some persons have expressed a doubt as to its existence and others have firmly denied that it exists. This question we will presently examine. It is, however, none the less certain that the almost mysterious traditions attached to this malady, and the fearful death attending it, as well as the fact that the origin of the cause which provokes it is generally found in the most faithful and devoted of our domestic animals, invest it with more than usual interest.

Volumes have been written on the subject. It would be impossible to refer you, even in a general way only, to such works as may be classed among the leading or most interesting, so that I will confine myself at this conference to calling your attention to the most important particulars, from a scientific point of view, and more particularly from a general and practical point.

First, does hydrophobia exist? Can it not be, as some writers have stated, a purely imaginary ailment? I hardly know whether to stop to discuss this point. It will suffice to open any even of the less classical works on contagious diseases to discover that in

certain countries — France, Austria, Turkey, and particularly in Russia — this disease is as common as is typhoid fever in certain parts of America. On this point a few words from history may give us some ideas on the subject. Hydrophobia was known from the highest antiquity. Democritus, five centuries before our era, and Aristotle, a century later, both mention the subject in their works. Later on Plautus and Lucan mention it, and Celsus gives us one of the most vivid descriptions of the disease as developed in man. Since then, the medical writers in all ages — Galen, Dioscorides, Pliny, Rhazes, Mercurialis, Hamel, Morgagni — have written on the subject, so that it has not been ignored by the celebrated physicians of all periods. I will, therefore, not stop to discuss or question its existence, and by so doing willingly expose myself to ridicule quite as quickly as I should by denying the existence of hay fever, because I had never seen an authentic case of the latter. I think it more important, since the opportunity has been given me, to point out the absurdity of a few popular prejudices, and to refer to modern discoveries concerning hydrophobia and its preventive treatment, since this is the object of this conference.

Is hydrophobia spontaneous? In other words, can a dog without having been in contact with a rabid animal become rabid? It must be stated that up to recent years, up to the moment when the study of hydrophobia entered the channel of experiment, physicians, veterinarians, and most distinguished *savans*, have advanced the opinion that hydrophobia could break out spontaneously, and principally with the dog. To-day, however, this opinion can no longer be maintained. Hydrophobia is a virulent disease, and, like all such, finds the origin of its determinism in a living element. This element introduced in a healthy organism, even in infinitesimal quantity, develops, multiplies at the expense of this organism, and by this process the entire organism becomes a virulent mass. Let us, then, firmly declare that a dog will not become rabid until after becoming inoculated; that is to say, until after having received in his system the rabid virus. This virus is introduced in the dog, and most frequently through the bite of one of its species.

It then follows that, if one has been bitten by a dog, it is better to secure the animal and place it under observation for ten days or so than to kill it at once, as is frequently, if not generally, done. If the animal be rabid, the malady will soon manifest itself, and we

may then know what is to be done: whereas, if the bite is simply that of a vicious animal, it continues in good health, and the person bitten may rest easy in mind and may banish all fear of future grievous developments.

One of the reasons why persons bitten consider it necessary to kill as soon as possible the animal inflicting the bite is this: an antiquated superstition, originating in I know not what country, is held by many that the fate of the person bitten is forever linked to that of the animal giving the bite, and that, should it at any time thereafter become rabid, the disease will manifest itself in the person at the same time it develops in the animal. It is, perhaps, needless to say that this is one of the most absurd of absurdities; and I have personal knowledge of one case where death followed as the result of this most unreasonable belief. A man was bitten by a wandering dog that had sought refuge in a wagon. Nothing in the animal indicated rabies. Nevertheless, the man killed the animal upon his faith in the erroneous idea or belief just cited. Feeling perfectly safe now that the dog was dead, he did nothing to protect himself from possible hydrophobia. Dead the dog, dead the venom, he no doubt argued, and felt easy. Three months after the incident, already forgotten by the man, and while he considered himself absolutely safe from annoying consequences, symptoms of hydrophobia suddenly appeared. After four days of agonizing torture death ended his horrible suffering.

Let us remember that the bite of a dog is not dangerous, from a hydrophobic point of view, unless he be rabid at the time of biting; and, even if it be desired to get rid of the animal, it is far better to wait ten or fifteen days before doing so. If I advise this period of ten or fifteen days, it is because observation and experience have demonstrated that the rabic virus may be found in the saliva of an animal infected with rabies more than eight days before the happening of characteristic accidents. This is a fact experimentally demonstrated at the Pasteur Institute of Paris.

I have stated that hydrophobia is a virulent disease; that is to say, caused by a virus whose element, like that of other virus, must be represented by a living germ. It must be admitted, however, that, if it be easy to place in evidence the microbes of erysipelas, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and a large number of other contagious diseases, there are certain other microbes not so readily unveiled; and among the latter may be classed that of hydrophobia. The microbes of the diseases first named are all more or less suscepti-

ble to such coloring substances as have aniline as a basis, while up to the present time no satisfactory method has been discovered for coloring the microbe of hydrophobia, and thereby facilitating its discovery among the elements of tissues. It is, however, easy to locate it, as the parts of the body within which it is developed are known. It is not found in the blood, and, if carried by saliva or bronchial mucus, it is particularly in the nervous central system that it multiplies most abundantly. The nervous phenomena characteristic of hydrophobia had for a long time caused this fact to be suspected,—a fact now clearly established by the remarkable experiments of Pasteur. Many pathogenic microbes may be cultivated outside of the bodies of man or of animals. Such, for example, is the case with the *bacilli* of typhoid fever, the *bacteria* of erysipelas, of pneumonia, of tuberculosis, etc.; while others up to the present time have resisted development by any of the mediums known to us. The microbe of hydrophobia is among the latter. It is, then, extremely difficult to demonstrate in a decisive manner the existence of this element of rabid contagion.

If, however, it has been impossible up to the present date either to color or cultivate outside of animal organism the microbe of hydrophobia, it can, nevertheless, be made evident and shown by the microscope, by a process fully detailed and explained in a pamphlet published by me in 1884. This process begins by taking a particle of the brain of some small animal (a rat, for example) inoculated with rabies. Immediately after its death this cerebral substance is diluted in one part of sterilized water. The water should be very pure. In examining by comparison a similar particle from the brain of a sound animal of the same species and of the same proportions, it will be easy to distinguish at first sight the difference between the two preparations. I will show you, by means of this luminous projection, a drawing taken from nature, and representing a dilution of cerebral substance from a young and sound rat. You will observe that this preparation presents the appearance of a homogeneous plan. One sees the cells of the nervous substance of varying dimensions, cerebral fibres, etc., but nothing which recalls or suggests the form of micro-organisms. I will now show you a drawing reproducing the appearance of a preparation made in the same manner as the preceding with a particle identical with the first, taken from the corresponding part of the brain of a young rat, of the same age, a few minutes after its death, which took place eleven days after inoculation by rabic

virus. Other elements than those we have seen in the preceding projection (cells and nervous fibres, globules of the blood and lymph), a certain number of rounded elements, with well-defined outlines, of equal dimensions, are at once clearly distinguished from the neighboring elements, and at once attract our attention. These little rounded elements are known in bacteriology as *micrococci*. Their dimensions are extremely minute, and in the preparation I have described they have a refracting appearance contrasting sharply with the dull appearance of the medium by which they are surrounded. Although I have been unable, in spite of a great number of researches and experiments, to find the means of coloring these microbes, I persist in the belief, founded on a great number of observations, that these corpuscles truly represent the living cause of hydrophobia.

As you no doubt have perceived, this paper is written without pretension. I have hurriedly, without seeking any particular method of exposition, given you the most practical hints as to the course to be followed in regard to a dog (or any other animal) by which one may be bitten; and I have also shown you the elements which, in my opinion, represent the microbe of hydrophobia. It now remains for me to give you a few indications on certain peculiarities which are of importance in relation to rabies in dogs, and I will conclude by recalling to you what have been in recent years the most important discoveries regarding this terrible malady and its preventive treatment.

It would be useless to detail the ordinary symptoms, caused by the microbes just described to you, after they have invaded the brain. These symptoms are known to you, and every one has heard more or less regarding them. A dog affected by ordinary rabies becomes furious. His eyes seem to flash forth rays of fire, he looks dazed, saliva escapes from his mouth, he seeks to bite without provocation of any kind, and often snaps and jumps at imaginary things. At such signs every one is on guard and watchful; but, as a matter of fact, the animal is then much less dangerous than when he manifests the symptoms presently to be described. The form to which I desire to call your attention is the dumb or paralytic form. A dog affected in this manner will often present to his master an awkward, silly appearance, piteously opening his mouth, the lower jaw drooping, and saliva running down. The first thought is that the animal has some foreign body lodged in his throat, a bone perhaps; and the first movement is that of

introducing the hand in his mouth, to dislodge, if possible, the supposed obstruction and remove it. What misfortune then follows, if there be on the hand the least scratch, whereby the virus may be introduced in the system! for there exist several instances where hydrophobia has developed in persons, principally hunters, who were contaminated in this manner. In other cases, instead of manifesting symptoms of furor, the animal becomes more affectionate than usual. He throws himself on his master, and showers on him unusual caresses, licking his hands and his face. One can foresee the result of such friendly demonstrations, should the saliva of the sick animal come in contact with some wound or scratch, however small and not yet fully healed.

Regarding the constant fear of water which is said to animate rabid dogs, I simply state that it is by no means rare to see such animals swimming across rivers.

These few points admitted, I arrive at the indications which experience and the progress of science have taught us as the most rational. I will endeavor to be brief. A dog (this being most frequently the case) has just bitten a person. What is to be done? We suppose it is well understood that the case is one where the animal is incontestably rabid or suspected of being so. Should the wound be cauterized? Numerous observations have shown that energetic cauterizations made within a few minutes only after the bite of a rabid animal have not prevented the development of the disease; and to-day, when the nature of the cause of this malady is better known, and especially when we have at our disposal the heroic means of preventing its evolution, I declare unhesitatingly that it is perfectly useless thus to add unnecessarily one misfortune to another. It is much preferable to simply wash the wound with a microbicide solution, more or less energetic, the effect of which will be to destroy the microbes which have not been absorbed in the circulation, and to assist, at the same time, the healing of the wound, than it is to enlarge and deepen this wound in destroying the tissues by cauterization.

I now reach the most important point of this discussion. I wish to speak about the preventive treatment of hydrophobia. First I may state that, wherever the Pasteurian treatment against hydrophobia has been well studied and thoroughly understood, it has in its ranks none but resolute partisans; and, in order to give an idea of its results, I think I can do no better than briefly review the report made thereon at the International Congress of Hygiene

and Demography, held in London a few days ago. Let us first note that, with all the *savans* assembled at this Congress the Pasteur treatment received nothing but the highest commendation. Dr. E. Roux, the director of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, recalled the fact that the treatment for hydrophobia, after a bite from a rabid animal, was applied to man for the first time on the 6th of July, 1885. Permit me to remark that, with the means of investigation now at our disposal, a new treatment is quickly judged at its true value. Each one of us has in mind the sorrowful results lately attending the method of Dr. Koch for the treatment of tuberculosis. A few weeks only were sufficient to determine the value of what I have called one of the greatest medical and scientific delusions of the day; and it is with much regret, I must say, that we have found ourselves obliged to abandon — momentarily, I hope — the idea of possessing an effective and certain cure for tuberculosis.

Concerning the anti-rabic treatment invented by Pasteur the facts presented to us are far different. More than six years have elapsed since the first human being cruelly bitten by a rabid animal received the preventive inoculations which saved him from almost certain death. I will hasten to say that, before applying the treatment to man, Pasteur had experimented and tested his method upon animals for two years. During the six years in which the sick have flocked to the Pasteur Institute of Paris the number of its opponents has diminished day by day, until we now find numerous institutes specially devoted to the treatment of hydrophobia, founded upon and following the same method, and established in all parts of the world. Dr. Roux reported to the International Congress at London the results obtained by the Pasteur method at the Institute of Paris. These are similar to those reported in other institutes of the same class. The persons treated at the Pasteur Institute are divided into three categories: —

The *first* comprises persons bitten by animals experimentally recognized as rabid.

The *second* comprises persons bitten by animals recognized as rabid by veterinarians.

The *third* is reserved for persons bitten by animals supposed or suspected to be rabid.

From 1886 to 1891 nine thousand four hundred and sixty-five persons (9,465) have received the anti-rabic treatment. Of this number *ninety* have died of hydrophobia,— a death-rate of less than

one per cent. If we consider that by the most favorable statistics a proportion of at least fifteen per cent. die elsewhere among persons bitten by rabid dogs, we must admit that this one per cent. is very small. If from these ninety deaths is taken the number of persons in whom the disease developed prior to the time required for the preventive inoculations to become effective,— that is to say, such as died within two weeks after the treatment,— we find the mortality reduced to sixty-one one-hundredths of one per cent. (0.61). Dr. Roux makes a comparison which demonstrates in a startling manner the incontestable value of the Pasteur treatment. He establishes, by reference to a large amount of statistical information, that the mortality among persons not so treated, and who were bitten *about the head* by rabid animals, is not less than *eighty* per cent. All works of authority mention the exceptional seriousness of bites inflicted about the head by rabid animals. Therefore, if we simply take into consideration the first two classes of patients who presented themselves at the Pasteur Institute,— that is to say, such persons as have been bitten by animals admitted to be rabid, —it is found that the deaths after treatment among those bitten *about the head* were but 3.38 per cent. He also calls attention to the fact that nine persons in this class died of the disease within the fifteen days following the treatment; that is to say, within the time in which it becomes effective. If these nine cases are deducted, only *fifteen* have died out of 700 cases treated for bites about the head; or a death-rate of 2.14 per cent. instead of 80 per cent. among those similarly bitten and not treated.

I have reported elsewhere the observations made at the Berlin Congress, held last year, by Dr. Babes, of Bucharest, which permit me to submit to you here: "A short time over two years ago a rabid wolf bit thirteen persons and thirty domestic animals. The animals all died of hydrophobia. One of the persons bitten died by reason of the extensive wounds inflicted. Of the twelve survivors, eleven came to Bucharest and were treated at the Pasteur Institute established there. All remained in good health up to the last advices. One man only of these twelve neglected to have himself treated. His fate was that of the thirty animals bitten at the same time as himself: he died of hydrophobia. In the face of like results, in the face of figures of such convincing eloquence, in the face of the many and most careful experiments and tests made, the accuracy of which many of you can verify, have we not the right to quote from Dr. Roux's address to his prejudiced

opponents, and ask with him, 'Have you anything better to propose?'"

A word or two more before concluding. A few days ago one of New York's great journals, which has been seeking distinction for some time past by its attacks on the Pasteur Institute, remarked that, in our population of sixty-five millions, only *forty-two* deaths from hydrophobia had been reported during the past year, and that such a percentage was extremely small. As to this statement I will venture a remark. It is evident that forty-two deaths from hydrophobia, in a population of this magnitude, constitute a very low rate; but are we certain that all such deaths are reported? Do we know that the causes of all deaths which occur in the distant farming and grazing districts of our prairies and plains, in the lumbering and mining districts of our States and Territories, are scientifically recognized and correctly reported? Whatever be the answer, even in a population of sixty-five million souls are *forty-two* human lives a proportion so small as to make it a matter of indifference? Especially when we can assert that most, if not every one, of them could have been saved, could have escaped tortures horrible beyond the description of tongue or pen. I do not hesitate to say that, of these forty-two mourned to-day by their families, forty at least would now be in the full enjoyment of life, had they received the Pasteur treatment.

We have a right to say that Pasteur's scientific career has been one of the most useful to mankind. Unfortunately, the state of his health, his age also, compels (for a short time, let us hope) his absence from the laboratory where he has achieved so many marvellous discoveries. None of these were made public without being first submitted to the most rigorous criticism I know of: I mean his own, and the test of his own counter-experiments. They to whom Pasteur, so exacting and severe with himself, is unknown, may be forgiven for having expressed opinions opposed to the facts he has promulgated. Had they but known the man, his admirable and rigorous method of working; had they known his great aversion to all hasty declarations,— I feel convinced they would have hesitated, and, above all, would have investigated and verified, before contradicting him, and thus would have avoided assisting their own defeat. Some persons advance opinions, with more or less eloquence, on that which they have not seen and do not seek to see. That is the ancient system: it belongs to the history of the past. The modern *savant* represents the future: he

casts aside opinions based on theories, and holds to facts alone. He does not discuss: he creates. He is a maker of facts; and, at the risk of repetition, I will add, When a fact exists, all the men in the world could not prevent it from being a fact.

Before the application of the experimental method to medicine, hydrophobia was a malady full of mystery. It was known that a man bitten by a rabid animal died of hydrophobia, and that was all. But the experimental method grasped the problem; it exposed the nature, the seat, and the cause of the malady; it did more,—it indicated the remedy. And this is, after all, only one example, by no means unique, of the profound and beneficent revolution in medical science during the past few years, thanks to the honored labors and researches of our honored Pasteur!

NOTE.—The Papers which follow are taken from two or three Departments, selected on account of the importance of publishing them at this time. Although debated, the debates have not been reported.

2. THE SILVER QUESTION.

BY HON. JOHN DEWITT WARNER, M.C.

(Read in the Finance Department, September 3, 1891.)

The title of this paper suggests a well-defined question of currency, metallurgy, or the arts, capable of precise statement, and of full and clear discussion within the limits assigned me. But as now understood, or misunderstood, "The Silver Question" is a collective term, embracing a congeries of disturbances now agitating the public. So to classify these as to show their relations to each other and their bearing upon public interests is, therefore, all that it will be possible to do here. That more cannot well be attempted is the less to be regretted, since the active forces in this movement are such as, on the one hand, are old acquaintances, and, though somewhat disguised, are easily understood when recognized; and, on the other, they are mutually destructive to each other when brought together. The problem is, therefore, not so much either to diagnose unfamiliar symptoms or to divert disaster by heroic methods, but, rather, to note the course of the fever, the prospects of its continuance, severity, and term, and to suggest what, if any, means should be used to alleviate its violence or prevent its recurrence.

I.

Though complex, the situation is not obscure. Its most well-defined and potent factor is the bullion-producing interest. This is engrossed by a few enterprising capitalists, controlling the interests of a few States, which, by our political system and the present crisis of our politics, are not merely represented in Congress to an extent out of all proportion to their population or property, but are enabled to exercise an influence equally beyond proportion to this representation.

The status of the bullion market, which has brought this interest into active politics, originated and is now as follows: At the beginning of our national life under the present Constitution, under the guidance of the then Secretary of the Treasury, Alexan-

der Hamilton, a standard of national currency was established and designated as the dollar, to consist indifferently of $24\frac{3}{4}$ grains of pure gold or $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver. This ratio was actually and avowedly fixed, with neither intent nor expectation of affecting the value at which either of these metals should be estimated in terms of the other, but as the ratio at which they were then actually current in the commercial world,— fifteen to one. Coinage was made free, so that any one having $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver or $247\frac{5}{10}$ grains of gold could take them to the mint and receive in exchange a silver dollar or a gold eagle. Within a few years the commercial value of these metals so changed that an ounce of gold would buy more than fifteen ounces of silver. And, since in our currency a silver dollar would buy as much as a gold dollar, silver was extensively coined and gold reserved for more profitable uses. As a result, our coinage became almost exclusively one of silver.

In 1834, under the lead of Jackson and with the express intent of changing our currency to a gold basis, our coinage laws were so amended as to make the currency ratio between gold and silver a little over sixteen to one, which made the material for a silver dollar cost more than that for a gold one. The act had its desired effect, and from that time until 1878 silver ceased to be any substantial part of our currency, except to the extent that it was used as subsidiary coinage,— not legal tender except in petty amounts.

In 1873 a general revision was had of our coinage laws, intended simply to recognize the then existing status and to provide for further coinage, in view of the intent shortly to resume specie payments. For forty years silver had been out of circulation, the few dollars which had been coined during that time having been promptly melted or laid aside as curiosities; and in 1873 no one either expected that silver would become cheaper, or suggested that government dictate the rate at which its citizens should estimate one metal in terms of any other.

The panic of that year inaugurated a depression which lasted till 1880. The causes of this were well known, and not attributed to the legislation just alluded to. The panic was, however, a consequence of the late financial operations and policy of the government, and in the minds of many its effect was aggravated by a lack of currency. In order to relieve the situation and provide the currency which, it was believed, the masses of

the people desired, the Bland Act was passed in 1878, providing for the coinage by the government of two millions of silver dollars per month, the bullion therefor being bought in the open market by the government. The force behind this bill was, in the main, a disinterested belief that more currency would cure the situation, and that the people wanted and would welcome it in the shape of silver dollars. Meanwhile, however, the price of silver had fallen to $1.15 per ounce gold; and the bullion owners, naturally anxious to increase the demand for their product and thus sustain its price, were prompt to co-operate with the movement.

The Act of 1878 was at this time quite generally favored. Its passage was secured by those who believed that every one wanted more silver dollars. The price of bullion at that time was but $1.15 per ounce, and the government was pleased to gain as seigniorage the difference between the bullion price and $1.29 per ounce, at which rate it was issued in coin; while the bullion producers were, of course, only too glad to have so large an additional demand secured to them. The results were disappointing. So far from the silver dollars being eagerly taken by the people, they were soon pronounced a nuisance. The government was unable, even by the inducement of free expressage, to keep any considerable quantity of them in circulation, and was driven to the expedient of issuing representative paper. The price of silver bullion declined steadily, though irregularly, till in 1886 it averaged less than a dollar per ounce.

About this time became prominent the silver agitation which has of late so increased. On the former occasion it had been mainly a currency question, pressed to the front by popular opinion throughout a great part of the country, but effectively favored by bullion producers. The new movement was of a different character, organized and headed by bullion producers, and co-operated in not merely by those who had long believed in the "more-currency" panacea, but by the increasing numbers of those whom the silver mine owners succeeded in organizing. The co-operating elements, however, were so discordant, their aims so diverse, and their party affiliations in general so antagonistic that little except disturbance was the result, until in the summer of 1890 the situation was such as to give an extraordinary opportunity.

Within a short time previous there had been admitted to the Union North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Washington, and Idaho. Six States, five of them mining States, all

under the control of the bullion interest, with an aggregate population of less than 1,200,000, or less than two per cent. of the total population of the United States, were given twelve Senators, or 13 per cent. of that body, and seven Representatives, or two per cent. of the other House of Congress, thus trebling at once the effective political power of the bullion interest, which had even before been abnormally represented by California, Oregon, Colorado, and Nevada. Of these the first named alone had a population and wealth at all proportionate to her representation, the other three having six Senators and three Congressmen to represent a total population of less than 800,000; while Nevada, whose representatives led the silver movement in the Senate and the House respectively,— though covering a territory more than twice as large as the State of New York,— was largely composed of mining camps fast becoming deserted, her total population having already fallen below 46,000.

The McKinley Bill was under consideration by the Senate after passage by the Republican House, and it was known that the Force Bill would soon arrive from the same body. The national elections were approaching. For two years Congress had been in almost continuous session. It was of the utmost importance, politically, to the Republican majority that it vindicate its existence by legislation. It was equally so to the Democratic minority that the Force Bill should not pass. In both Houses the members were worn out by continuous legislative combat, exhausted by the heat of the advancing summer, worried by being kept from their constituencies at the most critical of political seasons, and eager to close the session. The representatives of the silver interest held the balance of power in both Senate and House,— in the former comprising twenty Senators, of whom twelve had lately taken their seats, all but one members of the responsible majority. Their way was clear. Giving notice that the tariff bill should not be passed until silver legislation was had, they instantly brought their colleagues of the majority to terms. Consenting to delay the consideration of the Force Bill, they secured the acquiescence of a great part of the minority. The result was characteristic. A pending bill, providing for free coinage of silver,— essentially the old currency measure,— was discussed, and brought near to passage, only to have substituted for it and enacted into law a measure compelling government to purchase silver bullion to the extent of $4,300,000 per month, or about six tons per day.

This measure had temporarily the effect desired by its promoters. The price of silver promptly rose from an average of less than $1.05 in June to nearly $1.16 in August, then declined, until at the end of January it was only $1.02 and thereafter fell below one dollar. This was probably little disappointment to the bullion producers and owners, since their past experience had been of similar character. Doubtless taking advantage of the temporary rise to unload stock on hand, they still kept alive a most energetic and systematic propaganda, with its headquarters in Washington. During the summer of 1890 its committee had come into close affiliation with committees of the National Alliance, and through that body, which had loosely affiliated with the labor movement, reached irregularly a large proportion of the labor organizations of the country. Through the facilities thus secured, a most comprehensive distribution of literature was vigorously pushed; prior to election, meetings were held in the different political centres of the country, and candidates for office waited upon by committees in favor of so-called "free coinage"; and in preparation for the session of Congress, to commence in December, blank forms of resolutions and petitions were sent to every alliance and labor organization the address of whose officers had been secured, with the request that they be executed by the local officials, for whose signatures blanks were left, and promptly returned to Washington. The result was the most prolific crop of petitions and resolutions ever showered upon Congress; while the executive officers of the Silver League — the President, an ex-Democrat and Greenbacker, General A. J. Warner of Ohio, and the Vice-President, Mr. Francis P. Newlands, a Republican, the executor of the Sharon estate of Nevada, together with President Polk of the Farmers' Alliance, which was now completely under the control of the silver interest — made a most determined onslaught on Congress. After the experiments of 1878 and 1890, no one better appreciated than did the bullion producers that the price of silver could be but temporarily raised by any purchases Congress was likely to sanction. Besides this, the then pending session was the last one of the Republican House, to succeed which a heavily Democratic body had already been elected, though a protectionist majority in the Senate was apparently assured for some years to come. Whatever was to be done must therefore be done promptly, and should be of as permanent a character as possible. The steps now proposed were these: —

The present law provides for the purchase by government of an amount of bullion about equal to the total current production of American mines. It was proposed so to change it as to provide for coinage for the increasing amount, whatever it might be, that should be produced.

An attempt was therefore made to secure what was called "free coinage of American silver"; that is, the unlimited purchase by government of American silver at $1.29 per ounce, about thirty per cent. above the then ruling market price.

The methods adopted were those discovered in 1878 and successfully exploited in 1890. A bill providing for unlimited free coinage was introduced in the Senate, the Force Bill was also revived in that body, and the Democrats threatened with its instant passage unless they should acquiesce in the silver bill, the representatives of the silver interest now breaking squarely with the rest of their party. Under this compulsion the Free Coinage Bill was advanced through its several stages, when on Jan. 13, 1891, the period limited for its discussion being about to expire, and the bill put on its passage, Senator Stewart, of Nevada, proposed to substitute for it a bill providing for such a "mint charge" on silver produced elsewhere than in the United States as would limit coinage to American silver, and shut out foreign silver by a heavy tariff, so gauged as to be always a little higher than a prohibitory rate. The storm thereupon aroused by the sincere advocates of real free coinage was, however, so loud, and the danger of delay so great, that the proposition was withdrawn, and the Senate passed the bill and sent it to the House in the shape of a free coinage measure. In the House the bill was held in committee for a month. Tuesday, February 17, had been provisionally fixed as the date for a report and vote upon the bill, when on the Saturday previous, just in time for the Republican caucus to be held Monday evening, there was introduced by Congressman Morrow, of California, a proposed substitute for the pending bill, providing for unlimited purchase by the government, at $1.29 per ounce, of all silver bullion produced in the United States, and forbidding the purchase or coinage by government, except under penalties which amounted to a prohibition, of other than American silver. Such was the measure that, both in the Committee on Coinage and Currency and in the Republican caucus, the silver representatives urged. The bill, however, was reported so late in the session that it was never reached for action.

Immediately upon the adjournment of Congress the systematic agitation throughout the country was reopened. There being now no possibility of concealment, the plans were openly avowed. On April 30, 1891, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, a mine owners' organ, noting the fact that an attempt to hold a popular mass meeting in Utah had failed on account of the fact that the masses there had not been interested, boldly urged more practical and energetic methods, assuring the mine owners that, "with a small amount of money used this year right away, they could bring such a pressure behind Congress and the President next winter as to secure immediate legislation"; expressed the belief that by the use of $50,000 the Boards of Trade of Chicago and New York, and possibly of Boston, might be procured to pass resolutions in favor of silver; reminded each mine owner that the success of the movement would mean an increase of thirty per cent. in the price of his product, without increasing his expenditures; urged that it was the part of business men to take prompt advantage of the situation, and that the mine owners should act with that energy and liberality in contribution of means to the work justified by the fact stated by it in these words: —

"That legislation would make to the men who produce silver in this Territory a difference of $3,000,000 per year."

Through the Farmers' Alliance, now on account of its own financial straits and internal dissensions more and more dependent for support upon the aid of the Silver League, through such of the labor organizations as it could reach or political free lances could control, the determined effort for pressure contemplated by the committee was promptly made in every quarter where political showing could be made, and at any cost of effort the insertion procured of free silver planks in State platforms. To quote these at length would be wearisome. The two most characteristic examples are probably the following from the Ohio Democratic platform, representing the old "more currency" idea, which has had its greatest strength in the West and South: —

We denounce the demonetization of silver in 1873 by the party then in power as an iniquitous alteration of the money standard, in favor of creditors and against debtors, tax-payers, and producers, and which, by shutting off one of the sources of supply of primary money, operates continually to increase the value of gold, depress prices, hamper industry, and disparage enterprise; and we demand the reinstatement of the constitutional standard of both gold and silver, with the equal right of each to free and unlimited coinage.

And the following from the Pennsylvania Republican platform, representing the "protection" view taken by the mine owners themselves: —

We favor bimetallism, and indorse the action of the Fifty-first Congress in providing for the purchase and coinage of all the silver produced from American mines; and we recommend such tariff duties as will protect our country and its currency from the debasement which will surely follow if this nation is made the dumping-ground of all the silver of the world.

II.

Such is the present situation. The silver agitation is in great part a result of the persistent activity of a large band of paid agitators and of brow-beaten politicians whom their persistence and aggressiveness have stirred into co-operation or bluffed into acquiescence, and the resulting clamor of a systematically managed local press and systematically bulldozed political conventions,— in great part noise and paper. The movement, however, is by no means confined to this, but includes three inconsistent yet natural and important factors: —

First, a large proportion of the smaller fry, and what may be called the speculative portion of our business men, and voters in general. To these "inflation," abundant money, is attractive for obvious reasons, and, as a result of the persistent propaganda in its favor,— which has now lasted for fifteen years,— has become a generally favored panacea. It affects no large masses of voters, wage-earners having learned by their war-time experience that they at least would not profit from inflation, and the Southern and Western farmers who favor free coinage doing so, in the main, for a far more radical reason. This class must not be confounded with that larger one noted below that wants cheap money. However illogical their position may be, there are many perfectly honest men who would sincerely repudiate any desire to have our currency depreciated, and yet to whom abundance of legal tender currency seems the one thing needed to make every one prosperous. So far, however, as concerns this first class, they are not consciously aiming at any general business or political scheme. The influence of the inflationists alone would therefore be trifling.

Second, the body of those among our citizens whose business has been of late years so unprosperous that they see no hope of

relief except in government interference to scale down their debts and give them a new start. Such is the situation especially among the farmers of the Far West and South-west, and to a less extent among rural voters in all parts of the country. Their guiding aim is depreciation, in order to be enabled partially to repudiate their indebtedness.

This movement is not so much a conscious organization to rob creditors as the writhing of debtors who are widely reaching out for any means of escape from a situation which, being apparently hopeless, they feel to be intolerable. For several reasons this is a formidable factor in the general movement. In the first place, on the only occasion within the memory of this generation when our currency was generally depreciated it was accompanied by such a political and industrial crisis as combined to make it not merely a windfall to debtors in general, but a God-send of prosperity to the farming classes in particular. The memory of war-time prosperity combines with the apparent antagonism of interest between the rural and the urban population to increase and make more bitter an agitation to which is attracted, as to the first Cave of Adullam, every one that is in distress and every one that is in debt and every one that is discontented. And here, so far as its strength is concerned, is the real backbone of the silver agitation.

Third, the silver bullion producers and owners of silver mines, mainly of California, Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming. As has already been pointed out, these are a compact body of capitalists, practically controlling the politics of ten States, with abnormal political representation in Congress, and with an influence, under late and pending circumstances, out of all proportion even to that representation. The motives of these gentlemen are clear and their methods direct. They demand that our government shall guarantee them a market for every ounce of silver that they shall produce, at a price thirty per cent. above that at which, even under the stimulus of government purchases at the present rate, the market price now stands. And, so far as the political power of the States in question can be effectively used, they are ready as heretofore unscrupulously to employ it. To the extent that unlimited funds, with a prospect of an immediate gain of at least $12,000,000 per year, increasing rapidly as time goes on, may tempt and enable them to perfect and utilize organization, their effective activity may be counted upon; and, in fact, they have of

late undertaken to direct the general agitation politically, to subsidize the popular movement represented by those who wish for depreciation, and to combine for systematic effort all co-operating forces.

The three classes of activity in question may be therefore classed as movements for "Inflation," "Depreciation," and "Protection of Silver," respectively.

Neither of these three movements is formidable by itself. That in favor of protection for silver is lacking in every element either of popular sympathy, of business principle, or political tact. That in favor of depreciation is one which, though from its nature it enlists an unpleasantly large proportion of our voters in its behalf, is, on the other hand, just the one to rally in determined opposition the majority of our people, which, on the whole, may always be said to preponderate in resources to the extent of the possessions and hopes of the prosperous or sanguine among us, and in moral force by the added weight of the deliberate honesty of the clear thinkers among voters. That in favor of inflation is vague, formless, and unable to stand alone as a political force. Combined, however, under late and present circumstances, they have produced the present and threatened status in currency and politics.

What is the prospect? Almost certain confusion and clamor until the agitation is fairly met and broken by opposition or until it is ruined by its approach toward success, which will necessitate a combination of its mutually destructive elements. For free coinage of American silver alone would not add materially to our currency, and hence would be simply an insult to the masses of the unfortunate who look to abundance and cheapness of currency for relief. On the other hand, unlimited free coinage of silver, while it would effect depreciation of our currency, would in the very process destroy the main hope of gain on the part of the mine-owners, and hence would be for them even less satisfactory than the present law.

There is, therefore, little danger that the financial situation will ultimately be worse than such as may result from the present law. The practical question, therefore, now is whether the workings of the present law and the effect and prospect of continued agitation for an indefinite time to come are so serious as to justify immediate attempts to correct the status, or whether the movement can safely be left to await the explosion from within it, which a combination of its elements must produce.

In this view, what are the actual and possible results?

III.

From a Financial Standpoint. As has just been noted, we may consider the law of 1890 about as bad legislation as we need expect. Its operation is to dilute our currency with six tons per day of silver dollars, worth now about seventy-six cents each, but current on the faith of government pledges at one hundred cents. This statement in itself seems a definition of disaster. It is a fact, however, that a similar peril was supposed to be involved in the Bland Act of 1878, under which $2,000,000 per month of the same depreciated money have been added to our currency; and, again, that a similar peril was considered imminent when, a year since, our present law went into operation; also, that during the twelve years' operation of the Bland Act our currency was kept at a gold standard, and that up to date among our citizens at large gold and silver are still interchangeable at their face value. It is proper, therefore, to see whether the causes by which similar disaster has heretofore been averted are likely permanently to protect us.

The Bland Act went into operation in 1878. It provided for floating a sum of depreciated currency increasing at the rate of $24,000,000 per annum, on faith that the government would keep it redeemable in gold. The advocates of the measure believed that the business of the country would eagerly absorb and keep in circulation all that would be coined for an indefinite time in the future, and that, as a result of this demand, the price of silver would rise and be maintained at its currency value; hence that the Treasury would not be obliged to redeem any considerable portion of it. Its opponents, on the other hand, believed that the people would resent a depreciated currency, and that it would be thrown back upon the Treasury before any considerable amount could be put into circulation.

For a short time all parties seemed mistaken. On the one hand, the new dollars found circulation in large amounts throughout the country without any depreciation of the currency; and, on the other hand, the price of silver, after a slight rise, sagged back again still lower than before, and the gulf widened between the nominal and the actual value of the dollars in circulation. In and shortly prior to 1885, however, signs began to multiply that trouble was at hand. As long as the silver dollars were a novelty and the number in circulation not large, there had been no trouble in

disposing of the current mintage. As, however, the amount increased, people became less willing to take them and more resentful of a depreciated currency. To facilitate their distribution, the Treasury shipped them free of charge to any part of the country; and for a time, especially in view of a contraction of the paper currency, the demand grew better. But even this finally slackened; the undisposable stock of the government steadily increased; the gold reserves in the Treasury as steadily decreased; and, in anticipation of collapse, gold began to be hoarded throughout the country.

At this crisis the Secretary of the Treasury was Mr. Manning, an experienced banker. He had not been responsible for the creation, and had steadily opposed the continuance of the system which was ripening toward ruin. But, as Secretary of the Treasury, he accepted the duty of falsifying so far as possible his own warnings, and, favored by the peculiar circumstances of the time, added the talent he had matured by experience. He therefore procured authority to issue certificates payable in silver in denominations of $1, $2, and $5, holding the silver dollars against them instead of attempting to force the coins into actual use. The effect was instant. Issued in denominations most used in petty transactions, the new bills became the currency of common cash dealings among the people at large. By withdrawing the smaller issues of greenbacks, room was made for more silver certificates. The contraction of the national bank currency made another gulf which they were used to fill. The new certificates, being in the shape of bills, reminded their owners neither by appearance nor weight that they stood for depreciated silver; and the greater part of the money in the pockets of our people became paper, calling for silver; which, had it taken suddenly the place of the paper, would not merely have weighed down intolerably the people's pockets, but before morning would have set on foot a political revolution against depreciated money, the volume of which would thus for the first time be generally appreciated. Remembering that the present certificates, payable "in coin," really represent the bullion the government is lately purchasing, each one present, by simply running over the cash in his pocket, can appreciate how incommoded and startled he would be, should that part of it which represents silver be turned into that metal — and how long he would stand it.

Circulation having thus been promoted, the Treasury fortified its

position from the other side by steadily increasing its stock of gold, as with the surplus revenue it was able to do.

Under the present law, the increased bullion purchases are also floated by certificates. Will this expedient continue to avert depreciation?

In important particulars the present circumstances differ from those lately ruling: —

First, the amount to be floated is increasing at the rate of $4,500,000 instead of $2,000,000 per month.

Second, the expedient of substituting silver certificates for greenbacks and national bank currency is practically exhausted.

Third, government expenditures have lately so increased that, instead of having a revenue surplus wherewith to increase a stock of gold, the Treasury must live from hand to mouth, and shortly be without resources except the funds it daily receives.

Fourth, as a consequence of the above, and the agitation for unlimited free coinage, the business community has become wary, and is holding its gold, making payments in silver whenever possible.

To speculate on how much this country can stand is hazardous to one's repute as a prophet. It is safer to note the signs of the times. What are they?

It is but a little more than a year since the present law went into operation. Consulting the Treasury Reports, we find that June 30, 1890, there was in circulation in the United States, outside of the Treasury, $1,443,000,000, of which only 28.7 per cent. was not redeemable in gold values; June 30, 1891, the amount in circulation was $1,507,000,000, of which 30.8 per cent. was not redeemable in gold. This is unpleasant, but not so startling in itself. Remembering that under our system the Treasury is the source of our currency, let us examine that, and see whether or not we are dealing with a serious tendency or a casual fluctuation.

June 30, 1890, the net Treasury assets were $156,000,000, of which above 58 per cent. represented gold. A year later the similar assets were $71,000,000, of which only 25 per cent. represented gold. From this we see that the decreasing proportion of gold values in circulation is the result of trouble at the very fountain of our supply, which threatens a flood of silver and dearth of gold to an extent we have not yet begun to experience. How serious is that trouble?

Recalling that customs receipts are the principal streams which

feed the Treasury, and that they are fed by payments drawn from the circulation, we can investigate one step further. Up to a year since, above 90 per cent. of customs-house receipts was in gold. Since then the proportion of gold has steadily declined, till in March last it constituted but 65 per cent., in May last but 28 per cent., and in June last but 12 per cent. of the receipts.

The circle of investigation is completed, and the inference plain. Not merely has the Treasury proved powerless to sustain the equality of our currency, while pouring into it $4,500,000 per month of depreciated silver; but the selection, by which gold values are retained and silver used for payments to the government, indicates that gold is being hoarded outside the Treasury, so that the real amount in effective circulation is a very much less proportion of our currency than even the decreasing percentage indicated by the Treasury estimates.

With gold receipts diminishing from above $\frac{9}{10}$ to less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of our customs revenues; with our Treasury assets showing but 25 per cent. of gold as compared with about 58 per cent. a year ago; with our total currency, outside of the Treasury, changing in the same direction; with proof that, even with the lessening proportion of gold, a greater portion is being hoarded,— can we be blamed for dreading nearer approach to the brink of disaster, especially when the acts of both government and the business public already show gold at a premium? For example: —

Since the passage of the present law a constantly larger proportion of public and corporate loans are made payable in gold, and others are not now negotiable at all. Time loans and securities not payable in gold are refused, except on greater margin or at higher interest than those payable in gold.

A few months since the government, refusing to furnish gold bars, plenty of which it had, compelled exporters of gold to lose $1,000 for each $1,000,000 furnished them, thus putting gold to them at $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. premium, at which price they have taken above $60,000,000.

And still later the government itself has sold legal tender Western exchange, to "move the crops," at a price sixty cents per one thousand dollars less than normal rates, on condition of being paid in gold, $12,000,000 of which has thus been secured at an effective gross premium of $7,200.

In other words, in large transactions, where actual gold is the normal currency, it is already at a premium. Many possibilities

may retard, many more likely ones may accelerate, the rate at which this premium shall become so large as to be recognized in similar transactions where people at large are concerned. We must be prepared for it. What will be its consequence?

It is not possible here to discuss the numerous points involved. However, I can see no reason to believe that the appreciation of gold must be sudden or great. Nor can I see any reason to anticipate a panic. As to certain ordinary causes they do not exist.

(*a*) So far as concerns expansion of credits, we have been contracting them, closing outstanding accounts, and scrutinizing securities to such an extent that we are prepared for a panic, the one condition of things in which it is least possible.

(*b*) So far as concerns contraction by withdrawal of gold from circulation, it is not now used as hand to hand currency. Remaining in the same vaults as at present, it would be a basis of credit almost as available as currency.

A premium on gold recognized in ordinary transactions, even if but a moderate one, would, however, hit business men on their most sensitive, financiers on their most wary, and politicians on their weakest side. It would wound the national pride of every citizen, would effectually discredit bimetallism in the United States till this generation was buried, and in view of war time depreciation, still fresh in mind, would face every citizen with possibilities of financial quackery that would not only lead to a prompt remedy, but wipe silver agitation from existence.

From a Political Standpoint. The present agitation has been the opportunity of every marplot in either of the political parties who for any reason — either lack of confidence in his party's stand, lack of opportunity for leadership unless the issues can be changed, lack of power which makes him a change — wishes to divert the national issue from questions of the tariff. In addition, it weakens both parties by diverting the efforts of the rank and file from activity on general party lines.

This situation bids fair to be continued, and even be aggravated, until the question is disposed of. Political and business interests are, therefore, alike prejudiced by the irresponsible agitation that characterizes the silver movement.

It did not seem to me worth while to discuss from a business point of view the possibilities of further legislation. Since, how-

ever, that is a matter of practical politics, it may be proper to refer to it here. The Ohio and Pennsylvania platforms quoted above represent the probable alternatives of further concession, if made to the silver interests.

The result of embodying in legislation such part of the Ohio platform as is intelligible would be unlimited free coinage of silver, a depreciation of our currency by one-fourth of its present nominal value, and the driving of the Democratic party into the political woods as a scapegoat for the sins of the people.

In case the Pennsylvania platform be made effective by law, we shall have no increase of the currency, but "protection" to American silver, involving not merely a prohibitory tariff, but the guarantee by government to purchase the entire product at a rate thirty per cent. above that at which the price has generally ruled of late years. Such a grotesque and unpopular perversion of the principle of protection would render superfluous the attacks of revenue reformers and free traders. Loaded by the "body of this death," the Republican party would go out of power.

The Ohio and the Pennsylvania ideas are so mutually antagonistic that there is fortunately no possibility that more than one of them can possibly harm us.

IV.

Such is the status and the prospect.

Who are responsible?

First, the statesmen and politicians of both parties, who have been content to organize the rank and file of their voters into mere election machines, have left them ignorant of real issues, and subject either to drift into false ones or to be helplessly led about by any demagogue that can be hired to pervert them.

The masses of our people are naturally honest, intelligent, eager to know and quick to appreciate public interests. If the respective parties but did their duty by their voters, political cyclones would give place to legitimate politics, intelligently guided, working out the best interests of all.

Second, the business interests that, when menaced, do not promptly and aggressively defend themselves.

With all honesty and fair intent, men are sure to attempt what seems probable to help them, and to try disastrous experiments in proportion to their desperation and ignorance. The conservative and prosperous interests of the country owe it to themselves, not

less than to their fellows, instantly and systematically to resist economic error. They are responsible for the financial conscience of the nation.

I need not dwell on the futility of the plan of non-resistance, though, in view of the fact that it has always failed, it yet shows a surprising vitality. Even if peace were the great aim of life, there is no peace like the Biblical peace,— when the strong man armed keepeth his own.

How windy is the clamor, how unsubstantial the artillery, of the free coinage movement was seen last February, when, at a single word from our ex-President, they melted in so still air over so great a part of the country!

Unless, therefore, we are satisfied with the present situation, unless we are willing to face the possibilities which it involves, unless we prefer calmly to wait until the Frankenstein of the fiat money idea, to which we gave life a few years since, shall be ready to throttle us in a struggle incomparably more serious than the present one, the path of prudence is as narrow as straight. Intolerance of economic heresy, practical and systematic education of the people,— such are the only guarantees of safety.

I do not mean to suggest that, with the effort thus involved, the duties and the privileges of our intelligent business men are at an end. The last few years have been those of wonderful development in what may be called the process of giving fluidity to capital. Exchange and clearing-house methods; the growth of the system of storage receipts and bills of lading as the basis of exchange; the development of business methods made possible by the telephone, the telegraph; and the increasing promptness and cheapness of transport; the radical reform in methods of real estate record and transfer,— all these have of late wonderfully facilitated the free use by each who enjoys them of the whole or any part of his property in whatever shape it may be invested. Not merely has this development not progressed in our new and rural districts as in the older and more thickly settled part of the country, but to a surprising extent rural and frontier districts are little favored, even when compared with their own earlier facilities, — this while the very fact of the development in which they do not share makes more obvious to them the disadvantages under which they labor. It seems improbable that our statesmen and financiers shall not be able to devise such an extension of banking facilities as shall enable our whole country more equitably to share

the advantages of late so increased in our financial centres. In any case, they will neither have done their duty nor deserve to be left in peace until a thorough attempt has been made.

Last and most important, in view of the fact that the agitation which is the subject of these remarks is rooted in the poverty and misfortune of millions who have failed to share the prosperity with which, not less than in previous years, our country has lately been blessed, each should do his part to help bring about that general and equitably shared prosperity which is the natural cure of the financial heresies now most current. In his political action, whether as voter or law-maker, each should remember that obligation which should be even more sacred to the American than it was to the Roman citizen, and subordinating personal advantage to the general good, ever so do that the common weal shall not suffer thereby.

3. THE REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY W. D. FOULKE, ESQ., OF RICHMOND, IND.

(Read in the Jurisprudence Department, Sept. 3, 1891.)

The principles underlying civil service reform are as clearly demonstrable as any in political economy. They start from the same axioms of self-interest, which, while not the sole motives of human action, are still apt to play the leading part. Just as men will buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest (and from this starting-point so much of political economy takes its rise), just so it is a necessary consequence of the spoils system that men, in the distribution of offices, will pay the highest price for support of the greatest political value. As commercial value is measured by dollars, so political value is measured by votes, either in caucus, convention, or popular election. The rules of political economy have many exceptions. In experience the "parallax and refraction" (if I may so term them) of the special surroundings make the actual result somewhat different in every case from the theoretical result. Personal preferences, as well as ignorance of surrounding conditions make it perhaps untrue in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred that men actually buy in the very cheapest market and sell in the dearest. But this law is, nevertheless, the law of all trade. So it is true in the market of politics, which the spoils system represents, that the vote value of every appointment is the normal standard toward which every appointment gravitates. Personal or special considerations may control, just as friendship may lead a man to trade at a neighbor's store and pay a little higher price for what he buys. Men have mistaken notions of the political value of a claimant for office, just as they have mistaken notions of the commercial value of the goods they buy. But the laws of trade and of spoils politics are essentially the same.

The more elaborately commercial society is developed and the more generally commercial intelligence is diffused, the more closely is the general economic rule observed and the less do personal considerations affect the matter of barter and exchange. So, in politics, the larger and more complicated the interests, the greater the number of votes, and the greater the certainty of the

motives which act upon these votes to cast them one way or the other, just so much more closely will this political rule of barter and sale approach the actual and proved reality. In the primitive stages of republican government men consider more the quality of the man to be appointed than in its later and more impersonal stages. In earlier days we acted upon the theory of personal discretion in the selection of office-holders. The President was supposed to have some knowledge of the postmasters and collectors whose names were submitted to the Senate; and, when postmasters and collectors were few, this theory was not unreasonable. In the early days of the steam-engine the valve was turned on by the personal action of the engineer; but, as the machinery became more highly developed and complicated, automatic action was found to be necessary. So has it been in our government. When the number of postmasters increased to 40,000, personal selection was no longer possible. These things must now be done by system. What shall the system be?

The development of the spoils system in American politics has been attributed to Andrew Jackson, to Martin Van Buren, to Aaron Burr. It is not due to any man. If Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Aaron Burr had never lived, it would still have been engrafted, at some time or other, in some form or other, into American institutions, in the absence of some other definite system established by law. So long as appointments were left to the personal discretion of an officer selected by universal suffrage, the spoils system was a necessary result. The vote value of the man could not be disregarded when he sought office from those whom he had helped to power. But, just so surely as the spoils system was the product of natural law, just so certain is it to-day that its abolition is a necessity, born from the evils which it inflicts.

No one will deny that party government is a necessary phase of popular government. Party government in the political world exercises much the same function that competition does in the commercial world, that war does in the physical world, and that the constant struggle for existence (the strong preying upon the weak) does in the organic world. It is part of the great development of nature through the survival of the strongest and the fittest. Where all men vote, the strongest must conquer at the ballot box by essentially the same rules that armies conquer in war. The temptation is powerful to use all means, lawful or unlawful, according to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule or against them, to defeat the

enemy. In earlier times and among the lower types of humanity the love of booty was a powerful motive with the man of war. The right to despoil his enemy was never questioned. But it has gradually dawned upon the consciousness of the civilized world that this right of plunder not only inflicts unnecessary hardship upon the conquered, but that it is the greatest weakness of the conquering army. How many have been the battles lost where, after the first onslaught, the victorious troops, instead of securing the fruits of their victory, devoted themselves to plunder, and have in their turn been overcome and despoiled? The military world recognizes that the courage of the soldier must be sustained by some other motive than by the hope of spoil, and that to allow an army to devote itself to plunder is to corrupt and ruin it. This is true none the less in politics than in war. In nearly every instance patronage is a source of weakness rather than strength. The number of the disappointed is always greater than the number of the successful. Even the man who receives the coveted plum is apt to prove ungrateful. The corrupting influence of plunder is such that the honor said to exist among thieves cannot be trusted. President Arthur had the patronage, yet he could not secure a renomination. President Cleveland had the patronage, yet it contributed probably more than anything else to his defeat. President Harrison has had the patronage, yet the success of the Republican party in 1888 was converted in 1890 into the most disastrous defeat in its history.

The analogy between the spoils of war and the spoils of office goes far. In the division of booty among chiefs and men, the share of each was determined by the war value of the man. The chief was to have one-fifth or one-tenth of the whole, then came the greater warriors, while the common men must content themselves with but little. So in politics, as we have seen, the place to which a man is entitled depends upon his political value. The man who raises or distributes a small campaign fund gets a small place, while the man who raises his hundreds of thousands may even hope for a seat in the cabinet. The small speaker in the country district may aspire to a country post-office. But the great leader whom all flock to hear may, perhaps, become a premier. The question which, after all, determines the office to be given and the man to have it is, How many votes is he worth?

Now, it is evident that under such a system as this there is no relation of fitness between the man and the duties he is required

to perform, unless those duties are political. If his duty is to spread the principles of his party and win votes for it, of course the best politician will be the best man for the place; but, if the duties are purely administrative or financial, the man whose excellence lies in neither of these fields of action will very likely be a bad man for the place. In all non-political offices we are sure, under such a system, not to get the best service but a rather poor service. Skill in managing a caucus has no relation to skill in adjusting the accounts of the Treasury Department. The man who can best "whoop up the boys" by promises of patronage is not always the best guardian of public funds. Indeed, the particular kind of politician whose vote value is the most easily determined, and the results of whose labors are the most palpable, is generally the one who is disqualified for responsible office. The influences which determine the conduct of the conscientious independent voter are not so immediately traceable to the particular action of any one man as are the votes of the venal "floaters" to the man who divides them into blocks of five or who raises the money to corrupt them. The venal politician is, upon the immediate face of things, a more valuable man than the more remote agent who merely convinces the intelligence of an unknown number of proselytes. Hence he is apt to secure a better place, unless the fear of public indignation following the discovery of his methods makes his appointment impossible. So it often happens that a few votes in the convention which makes the nomination are more important than a vast number of votes at the popular election. Hence we find that the support of delegates is especially sought for by candidates, and that great numbers of those who have thrown their influence for the nominee in convention are to be found among the successful aspirants for office.

Another thing which results is a political hierarchy, or, as Mr. Lucius B. Swift more accurately calls it, a system of feudalism in office-holding, in which the respective rank and power of the man are often quite different from that prescribed by the Constitution and laws. According to the latter, the President and members of the cabinet make the appointments; the head of a department or bureau is generally authorized to appoint the officers who serve under him, and he is responsible for their conduct, dismissing them if they prove inefficient. Yet, in point of fact, we find that appointments are not made in any such way. A member of Congress or political boss of the State, the district, or the city, is

really the appointing power. Sometimes, like Senator Quay, he holds an office which is purely legislative, involving no such duties as the distribution of patronage; sometimes, like Mr. Platt of New York, he holds no office at all. These gentlemen, the greater barons of politics, divide their possessions among the lesser lords, the county chairmen and political bosses; and these again apportion their allotments among the leaders in townships and wards, who, in their turn, divide their little holdings among their own thralls and hustlers. In each case, service and fealty are due, not to the head of the office, nor to the government itself, but to the particular source from which the appointment comes. The result is that the men appointed — inasmuch as they do not owe their places to any qualifications for the work to be done, and do not expect to retain it by virtue of their industry or fidelity, but on account of their influence with the men who appointed them — often neglect their duties and devote themselves to political work quite inconsistent with those duties. This system has all the vices and lawlessness of feudalism, and those additional weaknesses which spring from the unstable and uncertain tenure upon which these offices are held. The man who nominally makes the appointments — the head of the office or department — does not dare to make removals for incompetency, lest he should offend the powerful "influence" which stands behind the incompetent man. The "influence," on the other hand, cares little for the manner in which his vassal performs the duties of the office, so long as the personal or political service to himself is satisfactory. There is thus a divided responsibility, the duties are neglected, and there is nowhere any power to apply the remedy.

An inevitable characteristic of the patronage system is the falsehood and intrigue which it fosters, and the secrecy by which it is surrounded. Recommendations and petitions are forwarded in great numbers, signed upon personal solicitation and meaning nothing, and men are displaced without cause to make room for the unworthy. In my own town I had occasion to know that a man who had been the laughing-stock of the community, and was incapable of holding any responsible position whatever, was recommended for one of the most important offices in the gift of the government by our best merchants, bankers, lawyers, and judges. Every one of these knew that the petition which he signed was a falsehood, but did not like to disoblige the man who had requested his name. There is no means by which the ap-

pointing power can be protected from misstatements such as these, so long as appointments go by favor, and not by proved merit. The hypocrisy and violation of pledges produced by the "pressure" of the spoils system cannot be better shown than by two illustrations,—one drawn from the conduct of President Cleveland and the other from that of President Harrison, both of whom would, I am satisfied, advance the reform of the civil service, if left free to do so.

In August, 1885, noticing that suspensions of postmasters before the expiration of their terms were becoming very frequent, and that it was claimed that these removals had all been made for cause, I addressed two hundred and ninety-five letters to postmasters suspended. I inquired of each the cause of the suspension, whether any charges had been made, and whether there was any investigation or opportunity for defence. To these letters I received one hundred and thirty-six replies, which gave the desired information. In only two instances had there been an investigation. In every other case, no notice of any charges was given, no cause assigned, no opportunity offered for defence, denial, or explanation. In a large number of cases, the first information received by the postmaster suspended was by newspaper report or upon presentation of the order of suspension by the new appointee. Sometimes the parties learned by hearsay and street rumor that charges of offensive partisanship had been preferred. In twenty-one cases, a request was made for information respecting the charges and for an opportunity for investigation; but no such opportunity was given, nor were the charges disclosed. I communicated to President Cleveland, personally, the results of my inquiries, together with the names of the postmasters in question.

I found, however, that the President approved of this course. He stated that he considered it impracticable to inform the postmasters of the charges made against them; that this would be to turn the question of their removal into a judicial investigation; that they were continually protesting, objecting, and asking for copies of the charges, but that these could not be furnished them. I suggested that there was little use of requiring that charges should be preferred, if the man accused was not permitted to see them, and there was to be no investigation; that charges were frequently made by persons utterly irresponsible, and often by those who did not pretend to know the facts; that such charges

were often false, and that it was not possible to procure accurate information until both sides had at least a chance to be heard. He said that the department had to get its information as best it could, that he had great difficulty in bringing many of his party friends up to his ideas of this reform, and that Indiana was a particularly bad State.

This remarkable system of secret charges by unknown accusers, and removals without investigation, was evidently the joint product of President Cleveland's desire for civil service reform and the clamor of his party for the spoils. Frequently, the accuser was rewarded for his secret slander by appointment to office. I could name many instances.

Louisa C. Canine was removed without notice upon the false charge preferred by A. J. Kitt, her sucessor, that she was a non-resident.

The affidavits against A. H. Sympson, of Winchester, Ky., were preferred by William M. Bickner, a relative of his successor.

W. L. Seaton, of Jackson, Mich., was assured that his successor (an editor of a Democratic paper) filed charges of offensive partisanship against him.

Charles C. Michaels, of Hope, Ind., writes that the charges were preferred by a brother-in-law of his successor.

E. R. Kirk, of Sioux City, Ia., was removed through the agency of one Chase, an office-broker, upon affidavits of partisanship, made by the son-in-law of his successor.

S. A. Marine, of Vinton, Ia., heard that the specification against him was the delivery of a partisan address on Decoration Day, which was in fact delivered by his brother.

The charge against J. H. Stewart, of Chariton, Ia., was exhibiting an obnoxious campaign banner in the post-office building. He shows by affidavit that it was not exhibited by him, and was not in any room under his control, and that he requested its removal. His successor was chairman of the Democratic central committee.

No doubt some of these denials by the suspended postmasters may have been untrue. They were *ex parte* statements, and necessarily so from the fact that neither the charge nor the accuser was known. Among so many removals there were, no doubt, a good number which were properly made. The objection was not to any particular case, but to a system which made it impossible for the department to know whether the charge was true, and under which many acts of flagrant injustice must be committed. Such a system will

naturally be used by spoilsmen to get places. Indeed, the appointees appeared to be largely from that class. The trouble in all these cases was that the old habit of finding places for political friends had become so deeply ingrained into the politics of the country that this method was adopted as a sort of compromise between the old and the new methods, but happily, as I believe, only incidental to the transition period from one to the other.

A committee of the Civil Service Reform League discovered that just the same thing had been done under the administration of President Harrison. Out of the 356 answers received to our questions asking whether or not any cause for removal was given to the man being removed, it appeared that in only 47 cases was such cause assigned, in 10 cases the matter was disputed, and in 299 cases it appeared from uncontradicted statements that the incumbent was removed without any cause being given for the removal. In a very large number of cases, he solicited information from the Post-office Department as to the character of the charges, but this information was almost invariably refused. If he ever learned what the charges were, he learned it from private inquiry and from other sources, generally from hearsay and rumor. In many instances, the new appointee referred us to written charges on file in the department. But as Mr. Wanamaker told us that "all papers in appointment cases have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential," and as the postmasters removed were refused access to the charges, but little could be done to lift the veil which concealed these secret accusations.

The following instances are submitted as examples: —

Elijah Ratnour, former postmaster of Weeping Water, Neb., wrote to the Assistant Postmaster-General, asking the cause of his removal, of which he had been informed. The following was the answer: —

> Yours of Nov. 23, 1886, received, asking the cause of your removal. When your successor receives his commission, turn the office over to him without further notice.
>
> Yours truly,
> J. S. Clarkson, *First Assistant P. G.*

William Wilson writes in regard to his removal from the post-office at Chadron, Neb.: —

> I wrote immediately to President Harrison that I only asked the privilege and right of an American citizen,— that is, to defend my-

self; that, if there were any charges against me, I would like to have an opportunity to answer them. In reply I received the following: —

"Mr. William Wilson, Chadron, Neb.:

"*Dear Sir*,— The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to inform you that it has been referred to the Hon. Postmaster-General, to whom all further communications upon the subject should be addressed.

"Very respectfully yours,

"ELIJAH W. HALFORD, *Private Secretary*."

I was never able to hear from the Hon. Postmaster-General or any one else.

D. W. Pratt, postmaster at Farmington, Me., writes: —

I wrote the Postmaster-General last December, asking him what law I had violated. He acknowledged the receipt of my letter, but has never answered it.

Harry C. Evans was removed as postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia.; and, when Congressman Walter J. Hays inquired on his behalf the reason of the removal, the following answer is returned: —

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 3, 1890.

My dear Sir,— In response to your letter of January 30, asking to be advised "What, if any, charges were made against H. C. Evans, late postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., as basis of his removal," I would say that the charge was made on statements of reliable people in Bloomfield for the improvement of the postal service. It seemed a pretty clear case; and I would be glad to send you the statements, except that they were made by private citizens and *in a confidential manner*. . . .

J. S. CLARKSON, *F.A. Postmaster-General.*

William H. Greenhow addressed the Post-office Department about the first of December, 1889, asking if any charges had been filed against his management of the office. He received the following answer: —

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 6, 1889.

Sir,— Yours of the 23d inst., relating to charges against the management of the post-office at Hornellsville, Steuben County, N.Y., and requesting copy of the same, has been received and placed on file at this office. In reply, I beg to inform you that it is not the custom of the department to furnish postmasters with copies of the charges against them, except in cases provided by section 25, page 727, of the "Official Postal Guide" for 1886.

Very respectfully,

J. S. CLARKSON, *F.A.P.G.*

This exception refers to cases where such papers are required in pending legal proceedings.

Mr. J. H. Middleton, former postmaster at West Hoboken, N.J., states that no cause was assigned for his removal:—

My successor was asked to make a charge, but answered no charge could be made against me, as I ran the office to the satisfaction of the people.

To this his successor, Julius Klumpp, answered:—

I did not use any influence to have the said gentleman removed, nor was asked to prefer charges, or that I said no charges could be made, as he ran the office to the satisfaction of the people. How could I say such a thing? Because we are aware and the Good Book says mankind is not infallible, consequently *charges could always be made if required.*

Here, too, is a system of removals upon secret charges by unknown accusers without opportunity for defence, explanation, or denial. It is inquisitional in its character, and totally inconsistent with republican institutions and with our present civilization. It encourages falsehood and slander, which are thus protected by the veil of secrecy; and the confiscation of the office for the benefit of the informer completes the injustice. No efficient civil service can ever be procured until such a system is utterly overthrown. It leads to the appointment of the men who are the most unfit to carry on the business of the government: the slanderer and the maligner receive the place as the reward for their evil doings. This system could be easily abolished if the inspector of the department, previous to the removal, were required to acquaint the officer accused with the nature of the charge against him and hear what he had to say. If such a vast number of removals were not made for purely political reasons, this would not be a difficult task. It is only because the energies of the department and of the inspectors are exhausted in an improper and immoral effort to turn men out without cause, for political reasons, that they might find it difficult to give the necessary time to an investigation of charges where publicity would be some guarantee that they were honestly made.

It would be just as absurd to expect a judge to decide a case properly, when he heard nothing but the plaintiff's statement, as to expect removals to be properly made under such a system as this.

In connection with these removals upon secret charges, it may

be well to recall the expressions of Mr. Harrison to the Senate upon the subject in his speech of March 26, 1886 (as reported in the *Congressional Record*, Vol. 7, page 2790, No. 3, *et seq.*): —

In many of these cases, it leaked out in the community where the officer resided that charges had been filed against him. Some base fellows had been used for the unholy office; and, being advised that charges had been sent, the appeal was made to heads of different departments, and I believe in many cases to the President himself, to be advised of the character of the charges made. Here was an accusation, a hearing, a sentence, and an execution without the accused being advised of the character of the charges against him.

Mr. Harrison then cites the case of Isabelle de la Hunt, somewhat similar in character, as well as a number of others, and says: —

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not pursue and compel his cabinet officers to pursue a civil service policy pure and simple and upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly. Either have that kind of civil service, or, for God's sake, let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men out of office simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. It was the conflict of these currents — the President, on one side, endeavoring to be responsive to his self-imposed pledges, and the pressure of his party, on the other — that has driven those who were at the heads of the departments, in the attempt to preserve and maintain the President's professions and at the same time give to the hungry who were demanding to be fed, — it was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable that has brought about this wretched condition of things in which men and women are condemned without a hearing.

It seems incredible that the administration of the man who uttered these words should perpetuate this system of removals upon secret charges, yet such is the fact. And it is a significant commentary upon the debasing influence produced by the pressure of office under the spoils system that it could thus pervert the excellent intentions of these two Presidents, both of whom had apparently desired to befriend the reform.

Indeed, the most disastrous effect of the spoils system is not upon the civil service itself: it is upon the people. Such is the vitality of republican institutions that they could live and thrive if the service were twice as bad and cost twice as much as it does

to-day; but republican institutions cannot live and thrive if either the popular elections or the nominations which lead to these elections are controlled by the personal and venal motives which the spoils system directly encourages. When any large body of men urge the nomination of a chief magistrate, senator, or representative, not on account of the fitness of the man for the place nor the principles which he represents, but on account of the money or the office there is in it for themselves, a serious blow is aimed at popular government. It is true that in a certain way the interest of the various sections and classes of the community must be looked after by the representatives of these sections and classes. But, where men seek personal reward as the result of their political activity, they will naturally care for nothing else. As was well said in the report of the committee on election frauds in 1879: —

> At the end of each four years the entire federal patronage (amounting to 110,000 offices) is collected into one lot, and the people divide themselves into two parties, struggling in name to choose a President, but in fact to control this enormous patronage which the President, when elected, is compelled to distribute. The temptation to fraud, to usurpation, and to corruption, thus created, is beyond calculation. A prize so great, an influence so powerful, thus centralized and put up at short periods, would jeopardize the peace of any nation. No nation can withstand a strife among its own people so general, so intense, and so demoralizing. No contrivance so effectual to embarrass government, to disturb the public peace, to destroy political honesty, and to endanger the common security, was ever before invented.

Another grievous evil of the spoils system is the paralysis with which it afflicts not only the administrative activity of the government, but its legislative energy as well. Civil service reform is an absolute necessity, a condition precedent to even a fair consideration of any other reform which requires either legislative or administrative action. Measures of most undoubted public advantage have been proposed session after session in Congress and in the State legislatures, and thrust aside from lack of opportunity or inclination to consider them. The representatives of the people have neither the time nor the wish to trouble themselves about these things, because they have other matters in the distribution of offices of so much greater importance to themselves. The politicians who have been valuable to these men to secure them their places must be provided for. A little more than a year ago I had occasion, as a member of a committee of the Civil Service

Reform League, to make some inquiries of members of Congress belonging to the party in power, as to the extent to which office-seeking and Congressional appointments interfered with their legislative duties. We addressed to many of the members a series of questions, asking of each the number of offices dependent upon his action, the number of applications he received during the previous year, the amount of correspondence and time required. Out of some 24 answers received, it appeared that there was an average number of some 250 appointments depending upon each Congressman, that the average number of applications for office made to each was something more than 1,700, and that more than one-third of the entire time of these Congressmen, which ought properly to be devoted to their legislative duties, was consumed in the distribution of these offices. Some of the answers set forth the annoyance of patronage in graphic language. One Congressman says: "I am quite sure that the number of written applications must be 8,000 or 9,000, besides verbal applications. During the past year more than three-fourths of my time in the day was given to attending to appointments, and late every evening to correspondence with the assistance of a stenographer; and even then I found it impossible to answer more than one-half or two-thirds." Another says, "The amount of time required is more than any other branch of my public duties." Another says, "One prolonged and continued correspondence, the constant and entire time of both myself and secretary, would not suffice." The requirements of patronage do not seem to have changed greatly from the time when General Garfield, in his speech at Williams College, says, "One-third of the working hours of senators and representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments for offices." The number of places withdrawn from Congressional patronage by the Civil Service Law is about 30,000, but it has been counterbalanced by the extension of the service; and, so long as any large number of offices remain subject to the control of the members of Congress, the applications will continue to be numerous.

Now, in this same Congress there were more than 17,000 bills introduced. Of this number, the measures which were finally passed were only 1,824, or a little more than 10 per cent. More than 11,000 of these measures were referred to committees and never reported. About 1,400 were reported, but never reached a final determination in the respective houses in which they were

introduced; something more than 1,000 passed the house in which they were introduced, but never reached a final consideration in the other branch of Congress; while less than 3,500 (or less than 20 per cent. of the whole) were finally acted upon one way or the other. These figures are enough to show that the great majority of measures made in Congress remain unconsidered and undisposed of. No doubt much of this proposed legislation would be injudicious. But there should be some way in which the good could be sifted from the bad. It is evident that many useful measures appeal vainly to this great legislative tribunal for simple consideration. The damage to the interests of the country resulting from a system which permits this confusion of legislative and administrative duties is incalculable.

The system itself is inherently vicious. The union in a single person or body of men of different functions of government which are distinct in their nature is evidence of a low form of political organism. Not only has the legislator less time to attend to the laws which he ought to make, but he has less disposition to do so. His interests and anxieties are devoted to this special business, which incapacitates him for the proper discharge of his real duties. It is just as inconsistent with good government for legislators to appoint the officers who are to administer the laws as it would be for a judge to undertake personally the execution of the process which he issues, or as it would be for these law-makers to act as judges in administrating and applying their own laws. It is only where the legislative, executive, and judicial departments are kept distinct that we can expect efficient work from any of them.

The next question is as to the remedy to be applied to evils such as have been described. Before the advent of Civil Service Reform the remedy for abuses was to turn out the party in power under which they existed, and fill the places by new men taken from another political organization. There must be a rotation in office, in the opinion of all those who are out; while those who are in devote themselves to the perpetuation of patronage and spoils. A moment's thought will show that merely to change an administration is a clumsy way to reform its abuses. It turns out the good as well as the bad,— the faithful servant as well as the spoilsman and the sinecurist, the honest officer as well as the jobber. A removal for corrupt practices may operate in some general and impersonal manner upon the party as a whole, and thus act as some slight restraint; but it does not appeal personally and directly

to any individual in the service. But, even where reform follows a mere change, it is and always must be of the most temporary manner. Neither of the two great parties of the country to-day can say that the mere personnel of their adherents is such as to secure them against the temptations of long-continued power. We are not gods, but men; and the party that cries so clamorously for reform when out of office contains within itself about as much of human frailty as that which holds for the time the reins of power. The party that would weed out abuses to-day will bring forth a plentiful progeny of corruption in a decade. The cry, "Turn the rascals out!" proceeding alternately from the camps of Israel and Judah and followed by the mere transfer of spoils, is very edifying, but it gives no hope of permanent improvement. We want something that will improve both parties, not merely while they are wandering in the desert, but while the flesh-pots of Egypt are before them. We want something that will apply the remedy, at the very approach of the disease; something that works, not transiently and spasmodically, but by a constant natural law. We do not want a nostrum or opiate which gives mere temporary relief from pain and leaves the source of the malady untouched, to attack us with greater violence on the morrow. What we need is a *vis medicatrix naturæ*, something in the political system which will restore and retain health without external aid, something which shall be present whenever the forces of decay appear, to correct them by its own inherent power. The remedy should be as permanent as the evil. It should be addressed to the known weaknesses of human nature, recognizing that these may appear in Democrat and Republican alike.

We must remember that no party ever existed — no, nor any form of government — into which corrupt and selfish motives have not somewhere entered. The question is, What will contract within the closest space the sphere of their activities?

Our experience in constitutional restrictions shows that the evils of government are always least where its powers are limited by certain fixed laws, that it is wiser to trust our rights to general pre-established rules than to leave them to be determined by the irresponsible will of another. Accordingly, in general matters of law we leave as little discretion as possible to our judges, our governors, and our political officials. We consider that fixed rules, however imperfect, are better than arbitrary power. Even the hands of our legislators are tied by many stringent provisions of

our State and National Constitutions. They cannot impair the obligations of contract, nor pass *ex post facto* laws. They cannot establish a religion, nor create an order of nobility. Why is this? Because it is deemed safer to trust a general rule in these matters than to leave them to be determined by their arbitrary will. The great feature of all republican institutions is jealousy of official power. We have eliminated it from many parts of our system. What the civil service reformer asks is that still other limitations should be prescribed. Why is it that an appointing officer should be permitted to act any more arbitrarily in his appointments than in respect of any other official act? Public office is a public trust, and he has no more right to bestow it for his personal gratifications or for the success of his party than a judge has to take away our property upon personal or political grounds. If you ask, then, why we want appointments controlled by rules and examinations, why we are not willing to trust the discretion of the executive, or even of the legislature, we answer, "For the same reason that you insist that the judge who passes upon your life, liberty, or property shall be governed by fixed rules of law; for the same reason that you are unwilling to trust his arbitrary discretion to do what seems to him right." The further civilization advances, the less it leaves to be determined by the caprice of its rulers. Absolutism is an evidence of a low grade of society, and the arbitrary right of appointment to office in a man or a party is a rudimentary form of absolutism, still left in a civilization which has in the main outgrown it.

If now it be conceded that a system of rules is better than individual discretion, the next question is, What sort of rules must they be? We take it that it is self-evident that the right of appointment to office is a trust; that the duty is to appoint the man best qualified for the office. The right is in the people; in the taxpayer, to have the best work performed for the money which he is required to pay for it. The people and the tax-payers belong to all parties. You have no right to tax a Republican to pay for services performed for the Democratic party. All pay taxes alike, and the work for which they pay should be the work from which they are all to receive a benefit. That is, it should be public and not partisan service. It is just as much a crime in principle to appoint to office one unfit to perform its duties, on account of personal or partisan services, as to devote the public money to personal or campaign uses. If there be any claim to office, it is

the claim of the fittest person to hold it solely on account of his fitness. If these conclusions are correct, the only remaining question is, By what system of general rules can the fitness of men for office be best determined?

Now, no man should fill any office unless he knows enough to perform the duties. This knowledge can be found out in two ways: first, by examining him; and, second, by trying him. A man ought not to be a reading clerk who cannot read distinctly, nor an engrossing clerk who cannot write a fair hand and spell properly; yet I have known reading clerks who could not read and engrossing clerks who could not write. An hour's examination would easily have exposed these shortcomings. In all matters, then, where there are any duties to be performed in which the candidate's fitness can be ascertained by an examination, there ought to be such examination. But this is not enough: we ought to seek not only a fit man, but the very fittest. You cannot tell who the fittest is until you compare one man with another. Examinations should therefore be competitive. Now, the larger the competition, the better will be the ability secured. To find out who is the very best, you must give all a chance. This is nothing but simple justice. Every citizen ought to have the right to prove himself the fittest, if he can. Neither wealth, nor birth, nor influence, nor political opinion should shut the door on him, and say, You cannot enter.

But it is not enough that the applicant should be examined,— he may know his duties, and fail to perform them,— he must also be tried. If he be found unworthy, let him stand aside, and give place to the next upon the list. A period of probation should be imposed, and no officer should receive a permanent appointment until his superior certifies to his proper conduct in the discharge of his duties. There should be also proof of moral character and limitations as to age and health. When these safeguards are thrown around the service, and promotions are made to depend solely upon the faithful performance of duty, we have, I think, as good a system as can be devised. We apply to government the great law which Nature applies in every gradation of organic life, — the survival of the fittest. The direct result of the competitive system is the appointment of a much better class of public servants, but its indirect results are still more important. It gives a new impulse to a thorough education in the elementary branches required for the public service, and indirectly to education of every

description. The opening of the civil service to competition is a more powerful stimulus to education than the establishment of a thousand scholarships. But the most important gain is the removal of one of the main causes of the political corruption which now infects our institutions. The offices at the disposal of party managers constitute a great mass of political capital wherewith to bribe men to perform the baser and more dishonorable party services. It is the glittering prize of some office held before the eyes of the ward politician which animates him in his political bartering. To put these offices beyond the power of patronage, to render them unattainable by such means, is to wipe out much of the corruption which pervades our political organizations.

Arbitrary power corrupts its possessor. This is just as true of a party as of a man. The removal of patronage makes both parties purer and cleaner. The demoralizing solicitations which consume the time of legislative and executive officers cease, and they can devote their undivided energy to matters of public policy and statesmanship. Public economy is promoted: legislators no longer vote exorbitant salaries to favor their appointees. Removals without cause are stopped, when no place can be made for a retainer and all vacancies must be filled by competition. The officials, no longer subject to political assessments, nor liable to be arbitrarily removed, can work for lower salaries. They no longer neglect their official duties for politics, since they no longer owe their office to political work. The officers retain their manhood and independence, and are not required to vote for a person or measure which they do not approve for fear of losing their places. Hence the same number of persons can do more and better work. To hold office in the civil service becomes creditable, because it shows that the possessor has ability and knowledge. Executive appointments are no longer influenced by the legislature, because they are beyond the power both of the legislature and the executive. Politics is less a trade. Party intrigue falls into disrepute, while the general suspicion of corrupt motives, which clings to almost every legislative act, passes in great measure away.

The wisdom of Civil Service Reform is demonstrated not merely by reason, but by actual experience. Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, in his report to the President concerning the Civil Service in Great Britain, has shown the beneficial results of the establishment of that

system in the mother country in a historic argument no longer to be refuted. In our own republic the evidence is equally satisfactory. Civil service rules have been applied to about 30,000 offices in the federal government, something less than one-fifth of the whole in mere number, but something considerably more than this in the salaries drawn, and in the importance and responsibility of the places. The more widely extended the classified service, the better its results appear to be. Men who have had special opportunities for comparing the new system with the old in the management of administrative departments of the government (such as Mr. Windom, late Secretary of the Treasury) speak most emphatically of the improved service and the general beneficial results of the competitive system. It would be a sheer impossibility to cast the numerous places in the classified service in the various departments in Washington back into the muddy pool of political patronage. The business of the government could not endure the strain. Even Mr. Wanamaker, little as he has shown himself in sympathy with Civil Service Reform, has been compelled to acknowledge the advantages of the system by a rule making promotions in his department dependent upon the proved fitness of those who seek it, as shown by competitive tests. Mr. Tracy, to his great credit, has removed many places in the Navy Department from the patronage system, and put them under rules quite similar to those adopted by the Civil Service Commission. The progress of the country toward Civil Service Reform, in spite of the political prejudices of those who seek to fight against the courses of the stars, is unmistakable. Whatever party may acquire the reins of power, there will be no great permanent backward step.

The manner in which the spoils system works, as contrasted with the merit system, is very clearly shown by the number and character of removals under each, when a new administration comes into power. I had occasion to examine quite extensively the number and character of removals of presidential postmasters (officers which have not been brought under the rules) during the first year of the present administration. It was a singular fact that the Post-office Department refused to allow access to the original sources of information concerning these removals. The Postmaster-General refused to permit the record of the removals to be inspected; and the President, when informed of the fact, failed to furnish any remedy. The number of removals they were

willing to tell, but as to the particular cases we were not permitted to obtain any information. Through the *Congressional Record*, however, we obtained a pretty complete list of the particular changes made, and then, by individual inquiry and correspondence in each case, ascertained what the character of the removal had been.

The statement made by Mr. Clarkson, First Assistant Postmaster-General, showed that the entire number of changes among presidential postmasters during this year was 1,783, or more than 65 per cent. of the whole. A great number of the so-called resignations we found to be compulsory. The men removed were in nearly every instance Democrats, and their successors Republicans; and, in most cases where the cause was specifically investigated, the reason of the removal was found to be political. An investigation conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners shows that in the unclassified offices the great majority of those in office during one administration are removed during the next, the evident purpose of this being to provide places for their successors for political reasons; while in the classified service, where the successor was appointed upon his merit, and not as a matter of patronage, the average number of changes have been less than 20 per cent. during the same period. The comparative workings of this system cannot better be shown than by these figures. The sum total of the whole matter is this: the service is better, more permanent, and more economical, political removals are eliminated, and the corrupting influence of these political prizes upon caucuses, conventions, and elections is removed, just in the proportion that Civil Service Reform has supplanted the system of patronage and spoils.

CONSTITUTION,

LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ETC.,

OF THE

American Social Science Association

OCTOBER 1, 1891.

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its objects shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, as many honorary Vice-Presidents as may be chosen, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Council, charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such Local Committees as may be established by the Council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Council shall consist of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department, and ten Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Chairman, and Secretaries of Departments, and Directors shall be chosen annually by members of the Association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or, in his absence, a Director, shall be Chairman of the Council. The Chairmen of the Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its President shall be *ex-officio* one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association; and, whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its chairman shall become *ex-officio* a member of the parent Association. The Chairman and Secretary of each Department, with the consent of the President of the Association, may appoint such special Department Committees as they may think best. The General Secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns or is removed by a two-thirds' vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the Council; and, out of his compensation, he may pay the salary of an Assistant Secretary, who may also be Secretary of one Department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the Annual Meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member, exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Council shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committees shall have power to call and conduct Department Meetings.

VI. No amendment of this Constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1891-92.

President, H. L. Wayland, Philadelphia.

First Vice-President, Andrew Dickson White, Ithaca.

Vice-Presidents.

Francis Wayland, New Haven, Ct.
Daniel C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md.
William T. Harris, Washington, D.C.
Carroll D. Wright, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. John E. Lodge, Boston.
Lucy M. Hall, M.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, Washington, D.C.
E. Benjamin Andrews, Providence, R.I.
John Eaton, Marietta, Ohio.
Grace Peckham, M.D., New York.
Henry B. Baker, Lansing, Mich.
Dorman B. Eaton, New York.
Pliny Earle, Northampton, Mass.
Henry Villard, New York.
H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D., New York.
John M. Gregory, Washington, D.C.
R. A. Holland, St. Louis, Mo.

General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.

Treasurer, Anson Phelps Stokes, 45 Cedar St., New York.

Directors.

Charles A. Peabody, New York.
F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury, Conn.
T. W. Higginson, Cambridge.
John W. Carter, Boston.
Charles A. Collin, Ithaca, N.Y.
Seymour Dexter, Elmira, N.Y.
E. J. James, Philadelphia.
John L. Milligan, Allegheny, Pa.
S. M. Hotchkiss, Hartford, Ct.
W. D. Foulke, Richmond, Ind.

Department Officers.

I. *Education.*—Merrill E. Gates, LL.D., Amherst, *Chairman;* L. F. Bryson, M.D., 38 West 38th Street, New York, *Secretary.*

II. *Health.*—Frederick Peterson, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York, *Chairman;* W. D. Granger, M.D., Bronxville, N.Y., *Secretary.*

III. *Finance.*—John P. Townsend, 53 East 54th Street, New York, *Chairman;* Seth S. Terry, 10 Wall Street, New York, *Secretary.*

IV. *Social Economy.*—F. B. Sanborn, Concord, *Chairman;* Joseph Lee, Brookline, Mass., *Secretary.*

V. *Jurisprudence.*—Prof. Francis Wayland, New Haven, *Chairman;* C. Larue Munson, Williamsport, Penn., *Secretary.*

Executive Committee.

H. L. Wayland, *President;* F. B. Sanborn, *General Secretary;* Anson Phelps Stokes, *Treasurer;* Dr. L. F. Bryson, *Education Secretary;* Dr. F. Peterson, *Health Chairman;* Prof. Francis Wayland, *Jurisprudence Chairman;* John P. Townsend, *Finance Chairman;* Joseph Lee, *Social Economy Secretary.*

DEPARTMENT COMMITTEES, 1891–92.

Education Department.— Dr. Merrill Edwards Gates, Amherst, Mass.; Dr. S. F. Scovel, Wooster, Ohio; T. W. Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor W. T. Harris, Washington, D.C.; Justin Winsor, Cambridge, Mass.; Richard T. Auchmuty, New York; Professor Alpheus Hyatt, Boston; Louis F. Soldan, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. G. H. Palmer, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor W. H. Payne, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Miss Marian Talbot, Walter S. Parker, Horace G. Wadlin, Boston; Walter Channing, M.D., Brookline, Mass.; L. F. Bryson, M.D., New York.

Health Department.— Frederick Peterson, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York; H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D., New York; E. M. Hunt, M.D., Metuchen, N.J.; W. Gill Wylie, M.D., New York; Professor W. H. Brewer, New Haven, Conn.; George E. Waring, Jr., Newport, R.I.; J. S. Billings, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Henry B. Baker, M.D., Lansing, Mich.; Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D., New York; Lucy M. Hall, M.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.; Grace Peckham, M.D., New York; B. Sachs, M.D., New York; Dr. Titus Munson Coan, New York; A. N. Bell, M.D., Brooklyn; Cyrus Edson, M.D., New York; Professor Charles Doremus, New York; William D. Granger, M.D., Bronxville, N.Y.

Finance Department.— John P. Townsend, 53 East 54th Street, New York; William L. Trenholm, New York; David J. Hill, Rochester, N.Y.; George S. Coe, New York; Francis A. Walker, Boston; Edward Atkinson, Boston; Professor H. W. Farnam, New Haven, Conn.; Professor Henry C. Adams, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Gamaliel Bradford, Boston; W. M. Ivins, New York; J. Sloat Fassett, Elmira, N.Y.; Martin W. Cooke, Rochester, N.Y.; Robert P. Porter, Washington, D.C.; Joseph Wright, Cincinnati; Professor J. W. Jenks, Ithaca, N.Y.; C. C. Jones, Augusta, Ga.; Seth S. Terry, New York.

Social Economy Department.— F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.; Carroll D. Wright, Washington, D.C.; Robert Treat Paine, Boston; Rev. Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. John L. Milligan, Allegheny, Pa.; Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, Springfield, Mass.; Miss Mary M. Cohen, Philadelphia; Miss Grace E. Dodge, New York; Miss Anna L. Dawes, Pittsfield, Mass.; Professor E. J. James, West Philadelphia; Rev J. G. Brooks, Brockton, Mass.; Joseph Lee, Boston.

Jurisprudence Department.— Professor Francis Wayland, New Haven, Conn.; Hon. C. C. Bonney, Chicago, Ill.; Charles A. Peabody, New York; Professor Henry Hitchcock, St. Louis, Mo.; Professor Carleton Hunt, New Orleans; Professor T. W. Dwight, Thomas Thacher, New York; F. L. Wayland, Philadelphia; B. H. Bristow, New York; C. J. Bonaparte, Baltimore; Theodore Bacon, Rochester, N.Y.; Theodore S. Woolsey, Professor William K. Townsend, New Haven, Conn.; C. La Rue Munson, Williamsport, Pa.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[All officers are *ex-officio* members of the Association; but persons serving on the Department Committees may or may not be members of the Association. In this present list, the annual members are given alphabetically, without reference to States; then the life members follow, classified by States; and, finally, the honorary and corresponding members. The only distinction between honorary and corresponding members is that the former reside in the United States, the latter in foreign countries. It is a rule of the Association to drop from the list of annual members those who have not paid their assessment for two years, but members so dropped can be restored to the list by paying their arrears. If former members do not find their names on the list as it now stands, it will generally be for the reason just mentioned.

No List of Members of the Association, as printed, can ever be quite complete, so many changes occur by death and withdrawal, the accession of new members, etc. The following list is as complete as the Secretary could make it up to Oct. 1, 1891; but, no doubt, the addresses of several members are wrong, and there are instances of names misprinted, etc., of which the Secretary will thank any person to notify him when the fact is observed.]

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Adams, Mrs. Florence J., 286 Huron St., Chicago.
Adams, W. Irving, 423 Broome St., New York City.
Aiken, Rev. Charles A., Princeton, N.J.
Anderson, Rev. J., Waterbury, Conn.
Atkinson, Edward, 31 Milk St., Boston.
Atwood, Dr. Chas. E., Utica, N.Y.
Auchmuty, R. T., 51 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Avery, Edward H., Auburn, N.Y.
Baker, Henry B., State Board of Health, Lansing, Mich.
Baldwin, Prof. S. E., New Haven, Ct.
Battell, Hon. Robbins, 74 Wall St., New York.
Baucus, Joseph D., Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
Beckwith, P. D., Dowagiac, Mich.
Beckwith, Miss, 68 Brown St., Providence, R.I.
Bemis. Edward W., Nashville, Tenn.
Bird, F. W., East Walpole, Mass.
Bissinger, Philip, 22 St. John St., New York City.
Blatchford, E. W., 375 La Salle Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Boardman, D. L., Troy, N.Y.
Bonney, C. C., Chicago, Ill.
Bowker, R. R., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bradford, Rev. A. H., Montclair, N.J.
Braman, J. C., 50 State St., Boston.

Breed, W. J., Cincinnati.
Brewster, Lyman D., Danbury, Conn.
Brinkerhoff, Roeliff, Mansfield, Ohio.
Brockway, Z. R., Elmira, N.Y.
Brooks, Rev. J. G., Brockton, Mass.
Brooks, Rev. Phillips, 233 Clarendon St., Boston.
Brown, Dr. W. Y., 3319 Hamilton St., Philadelphia.
Bruen, Rev. J. D. Hart, Belvidere, N.J.
Bullard, W. S., 5 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.
Carter, John W., 172 Columbus Ave., Boston.
Chamberlain, D. H., 42 Wall St., New York.
Channing, Dr. Walter, Brookline, Mass.
Church, Frederic E., Hudson, N.Y.
Clark, J. S., 7 Park St., Boston.
Clinton, H. L., 58 Park Ave., New York.
Collin, Prof. Charles A., Ithaca, N.Y.
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, 60 State St., Boston.
Corning, Erastus, 87 State St., Albany, N.Y.
Coxe, Eckley B., Drifton, Luzerne Co., Pa.
Crane, Rev. Oliver, Morristown, N.J.
Crothers, Dr. T. D , Hartford, Conn.
Curtis, Geo. W., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y.
Curtis, H. Holbrook, M.D., 29 West 30th St., New York.
Dall, Mrs. Caroline H., Washington, D.C.
Davies, Julien T., 32 Nassau St., New York City.
Dawes, Miss Anna L., Pittsfield, Mass.
Dexter, Seymour, Elmira, N.Y.
Denslow, Van Buren, 58 William St., New York.
Dike, Rev. S. W., Auburndale, Mass.
Dimock, H. F., Pier 11, N. R., New York City.
Dittenhoeffer, Hon. A. J., 96 Broadway, New York.
Doughty, W. H., Troy, N.Y.
Dowd, Rev. Charles F., Saratoga, N.Y.
Draper, Dr. Joseph, Vermont Lunatic Asylum, Brattleboro, Vt.
Dunning, Rev. A. E., 1 Somerset St., Boston.
Earle, Dr. Pliny, Northampton, Mass.
Eaton, Dorman B., 2 East 29th St., New York City.
Eaton, Hon. John, Marietta, Ohio.
Edmands, A. Lawrence, P.O. Box 1425, Boston.
Eliot, C. W., LL.D., 17 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.
Farnam, H. W., New Haven, Conn.
Finley, John H., 20 University Place, New York.
Foote, Miss Mary B., 352 Howard St., Cambridge, Mass.
Foulke, W. D., Richmond, Ind.
Fowler, Charles N., 208 Broadway, New York.
French, Francis O., 33 West 37th St., New York City.
Frothingham, Rev. O. B., 118 Marlboro, St., Boston.
Frothingham, Mrs. O. B., 118 Marlboro St., Boston.
Gallaudet, E. M., LL.D., Washington, D.C.
Gano, John A., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Gates, Merrill E., LL.D., Pres. Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Gilman, D. C., LL.D., Pres. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Ginn, Edwin, 13 Tremont Pl., Boston.
Gladden, Rev. Washington, Columbus, Ohio.
Goddard, Miss Matilda, 251 Newbury St., Boston.
Graham, Mrs. Neil F., West End, Va.
Granger, Dr. W. D., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
Green, Jacob L., Hartford, Conn.
Greenough, W. W., 229 Marlboro St., Boston.
Grew, Henry S., 89 Beacon St., Boston.
Groesbeck, W. S., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Haines, H. S., Savannah, Ga.
Hale, Geo. S., 10 Tremont St., Boston.
Hall, Dr. Lucy M., 181 Jorademon St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Hallowell, Mrs. R. P., West Medford, Mass.
Harkness, Prof. A., Providence, R.I.
Harris, Wm. T., Washington, D.C.
Higginson, T. W., 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass.
Higginson, Waldo, Boston.
Hitchcock, Henry, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
Hoadly, George, 120 Broadway, New York City.
Holland, Rev. R. A., St. Louis, Mo.
Holt, Henry, 14 East 54th St., New York City.
Hooker, Mrs. I. B., Hartford, Conn.
Horsford, Prof. E. N., Cambridge, Mass.
Hotchkiss, S. M., Hartford, Conn.
Hutchings, John, Lawrence, Kan.
Hyde, Rev. C. M., D.D., Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.
Jacobi, Dr. A., 110 West 34th St., New York City.
James, Prof. E. J., University of Pennsylvania, West Philadelphia.

James, Mrs. John W., 37 Newbury St., Boston.
Jaques, David R., 38 Park Row, New York City.
Jenks, Prof. J. W., Ithaca, N.Y.
Jones, Fernando, 1834 Prairie Ave., Chicago.
Kellogg, Charles D., 21 University Pl., New York.
Kellogg, Dr. John H., Battle Creek, Mich.
Kimball, B. A., Concord, N.H.
Kingsbury, Miss Alice E., Waterbury, Conn.
Kingsbury, Miss Edith D., Waterbury, Conn.
Kingsbury, F. J., Waterbury, Conn.
Kursheedt, Manuel A., 35 Warren St., New York.
Lee, Henry, 40 State St., Boston.
Lee, Joseph, Brookline.
Leete, Dr. James M., 2912 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Leonard, Mrs. C. T., Springfield, Mass.
Levy, Rev. Clifton H., 449 W. 23d St, New York.
Lindsey, C. E., Fall River, Mass.
Little, Moses, 63 Merrimack St., Lowell, Mass.
Livermore, Rev. A. A., Wilton, N.H.
Lord, D. Benjamin, 34 West 28th St., New York.
Lukins, Dr. Anna, 1068 Lexington Ave., New York.
Lyman, Arthur T., Boston.
Lynde, Mrs. Wm P., Milwaukee, Wis.
Marshall, James, Fall River, Mass.
Marwedel, Miss Emma, San Francisco, Cal.
May, Rev. Samuel, Leicester, Mass.
Means, William G., 40 Water St., Boston.
Mercer, George G., 330 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
Mulligan, J. L., Allegheny, Pa.
Minot, Wm., Jr., 39 Court St., Boston.
Mitchell, Mary A., Villa de Bouyn, Ave. des Fleurs, Nice, U.M., France.
Moore, Chas. Halsey, Plattsburg, N.Y.
Morey, Prof. W. C., Rochester, N.Y.
Munson, C. Larue, Williamsport, Pa.
Neilson, James, New Brunswick, N.J.
North, Thomas M., 120 Broadway, N.Y.
Oliver, Mrs. Grace A., Salem, Mass.
Olmsted, Frederick Law, Brookline, Mass.
Paine, Robert Treat, 6 Joy St., Boston.
Parkman, Henry, Rogers Building, 209 Washington St., Boston.
Parsons, S. M., 41 Wall St., New York.
Peabody, Charles A., 2 Wall St., New York City.
Peckham, Grace, M.D, N.Y.
Peterson, Fred, M.D, 201 W. 54th St., N.Y.
Post, H. C. von, P. O. Box 137, New York City.
Potter, Edward T., Newport, R.I.
Potter, Rev. President, Geneva, N.Y.
Prang, Louis, 286 Roxbury St., Boston.
The President of the Social Science Club, Ware, Mass.
Putnam, Charles P., M.D., 63 Marlboro St., Boston.
Robbins, George A., Box 947, New York City.
Ropes, John C., 50 State St., Boston.
Ropes, Joseph S., 48 Congress St., Boston.
Rotch, Miss Joanna, Milton, Mass.
Round, W. M. F., 135 East 15th St., New York City.
Rowe, Dr. G. H. M., City Hospital, Boston, Mass.
Runkle, Prof. J. D., Brookline, Mass.
Schlesinger, Barthold, Boston.
Schurman, Prof. J. G., Ithaca, N.Y.
Schuyler, Miss Louisa Lee, 19 West 31st St., New York City.
Scovel, Rev. Sylvester F., Wooster, Ohio.
Shattuck, George O., 35 Court St., Boston.
Slocum, Miss Jane M., Canandaigua, N.Y.
Smith, Eugene, 33 Pine St., N.Y.
Smith, Mrs. Frances A., 124 Circular St., Saratoga, N.Y.
Smith, George W., 115 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.
Smith, H. D., Plantsville, Conn.
Smith, Roswell, Century Co., New York.
Smith, T. H., 218 La Salle St., Chicago.
Spear, C. V., Oberlin, Ohio.
Spencer, Mrs. Sara A., Washington, D.C.
Stearns, James S., 58 Williams St., New York City.
Stickney, George, Grand Haven, Mich.
Stokes, James, 47 Cedar St., New York.
Stone, George H., Thomasville, Geo.
Strauss, Oscar N., 42 Warren St., New York.
Sullivan, Richard, 35 Brimmer St., Boston.
Sunderland, Rev. J. T., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Swartz, James S., 234 South 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Talbot, Mrs. I. T., 66 Marlboro St., Boston.
Talcott, J. B., New Britain, Conn.
Taylor, James R., 268 Henry St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Taylor, Prof. Graham, Hartford, Ct.
Terry, Seth S., 10 Wall St., N.Y.
Thiry, J. H., Long Island City, L.I.
Thurber, F. B., 116 Reade St., New York City.
Townsend, John P., 53 East 54th St., New York City.
Townsend, Prof. W. K., New Haven, Conn.
Trumbull, Rev. H. C., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tufts, Gardiner, Warnerville, Mass.
Tweedy, Edmund, Newport, R.I.
Van Bibber, Dr. W. C., 26 W. Franklin St., Baltimore, Md.
Vaughan, J. C., 88 State St., Chicago.
Villard, Henry, Mills Building, New York City.
Ward, W. E., Port Chester, N.Y.
Waring, George E., Jr., Newport, R.I.
Warner, Charles Dudley, Hartford, Conn.
Warner, John DeWitt, New York City.
Wayland, C. N., 9 West 36th St., New York City.
Wayland, Mrs. Francis, New Haven, Conn.
Wayland, Rev. Dr. H. L., Philadelphia, Pa.
Weeks, Joseph D., Pittsburg, Pa.
Wells, Edward W., 34 Prospect St., Hartford, Conn.
White, Alfred T., 40 Remsen St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
White, Andrew D., Syracuse, N.Y.
Wheeler, E. S., New Haven, Conn.
Wheeler, J. Davenport, care Prof. Francis Wayland, New Haven, Conn.
Willard, Miss Frances E., Evanston, Ill.
Winthrop, Robert C., 90 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass.
Wolcott, Mrs. Harriet F., Boston, Mass.
Wood, Frederick, 245 Broadway, New York City.
Wright, Carroll D., Washington, D.C.
Wyman, F. A., 131 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.
Young, Charles L., 71 Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
Young, Henry L., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Illinois.

Myers, Sydney, Chicago.

Maine.

Hill, Rev. Thomas, Portland.

Massachusetts.

Angell, George T., Montgomery Place, Boston.
Barnard, James M., Boston.
Barnard, Mrs. James M., Boston.
Blatchford, J. S., Boston.
Bradford, Gamaliel, 113 Exchange St., Boston.
Brimmer, Martin, 47 Beacon St., Boston.
Eliot, Mrs. Samuel, 44 Brimmer St., Boston.
Endicott, William, Jr., 10 Mount Vernon St., Boston.
Farwell, Mrs. A. G., 16 Beacon St., Boston.
Forbes, John M., 30 Sears Building, Boston.
Gray, Hon. William, 20 Mount Vernon St., Boston.
Little, James L., 2 Commonwealth Ave., Boston.
Lincoln, D. F., Boston.
Lodge, Mrs. J. E., 31 Beacon St., Boston.
Pierce, Hon. Henry L., 158 State St., Boston.
Robeson, William R., 212 Beacon St., Boston.
Sanborn, F. B., Concord.
Sanborn, Mrs. Louisa L., Concord.
Wigglesworth, Edward, M D., 79 Boylston St., Boston.
Wolcott, Roger, 53 Tremont Street, Boston.

New York.

Cole, William A., 41 Broad St., New York City.
Dike, Henry A., New York City.
Dodge, William E., Jr., 11 Cliff St., New York City.
Dodge, Charles C., New York City.
Field, David Dudley, 4 Pine St., New York City.
Field, Cyrus W., New York City.
Herrman, Mrs. H., 59 W. 66th St, New York.
Hewitt, Abram S., 17 Burling Slip, New York City.
James, D. Willis, New York City.
Letchworth, W. P., Portageville.
Libbey, Jonas M., 47 Park Ave., New York City.
Pierrepont, Edwards, New York City.
Stokes, I. N. Phelps, New York.
Stokes, Anson P., 47 Cedar St., New York City.
Stokes, Thomas, 47 Cedar St., New York City.
Villard, Mrs. Henry, New York City.
Ward, J. Q. A., 9 West 48th St., New York City.
Ware, William R., Columbia College, New York City.
White, Andrew Dickson, Ithaca.
Wolcott, Miss Ella L., Elmira.
Young, J. Edward, New York City.

OTHER STATES.

W. G. Hammond, St Louis, *Mo.*
Prof. Goldwin Smith, Toronto, *Can.*
Lawson, Rev. Albert G., 308 Penn St., Camden, *N.J.*
Francis Wayland, LL.D., New Haven, *Conn.*
J. W. Hoyt, Cheyenne, *Wy.*

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

In America.

Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Henry Barnard, LL.D., Hartford, Conn.
Moncure Daniel Conway, Esq., New York, N.Y.
Major-Gen. O. O. Howard, Portland, Ore.
Edmund A. Meredith, Esq., Wellington St., East Toronto, Can.
Hon. Domingo F. Sarmiento, Buenos Ayres.
Lewis A. Sayre, M.D., 795 Broadway, New York.
Prof. Daniel Wilson, Toronto, Can.

In Great Britain and Ireland.

Thomas Hughes, M.P., London.
Sir Walter Crofton, The Close, Winchester.
Lord Radstock, London.
Miss Frances Power Cobbe, 24 Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.
Henry Dunning McLeod, Esq., Oxford and Cambridge Club, London.
Alfred Field, Esq., Birmingham.
Thomas H. Barker, Esq., Manchester.
G. W. Hastings, Esq., M.P., London.
Henry W. Acland, M.D., F.R.S., Oxford.
Miss Edith Simcox, London.
Miss Louisa Innes Lumsden, Glenbogie, Rhynie, Scotland.
Herbert Spencer, Esq., London.
Miss J. Frances Dove, St. Andrews, Scotland.
Lord Hobhouse, 15 Bruton St., London.
Prof. James Bryce, M.P., London.

In France.

Dr. Thomas W. Evans, Paris.
M. Jules Simon, Paris.
M. Emile Müller, Paris.
M. Joseph Garnier, 14 Rue Richelieu, Paris.
M. August Laugel, 19 Rue de la Ville l'Evêque, Paris.
M. Emile Cacheux, Paris.
M. Emile Trelat, Paris.
M. F. Buisson, Paris.
M. Emil Levasseur, 24 Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris.
M. Arthur Raffalovich, 19 Avenue Hoche, Paris.

In Germany.

Dr. Ernest Engel, Royal Statistical Bureau, Berlin.

In Italy.

Signor Martino Beltrani-Scalia, Rome.
Prof. C. F. Gabba, Pisa.
Princess Hélène Koltzoff Massalsky, Villa d' Istria, Florence.
Prof. Alberto de Errera, Cavaliere della Corona d' Italia, Venice.

In Switzerland.

Prof. Charles Secrétan, Lausanne.

In Hungary.

M. E. Horn, M.P., Budapest.

In Holland

Dr. W. F. M. Gori, Amsterdam.

In Belgium.

M. P. Buls, Brussels.
M. Van der Rest, Brussels.
M. August Couvreur, Brussels.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of Social Science. Containing the Transactions of the American Association. Nos. I.–V., 8vo, paper, each $1.50. Nos. VI.–XXVIII., each $1.00.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWO.—Current Record of the Association. I. Immigration—Frederick Kapp. II. The American Census—James A. Garfield. III. The Mode of Procedure in Cases of Contested Elections—Henry L. Dawes. IV. The Public Charities of the State of New York—Theodore W. Dwight. V. The Public Libraries of the United States—Ainsworth R. Spofford. VI. The Science of Transportation—Joseph D. Potts. VII. Vaccination—A Report presented by Francis Bacon, William A. Hammond, and David F. Lincoln. VIII. The Election of Presidents—Charles Francis Adams, Jr. IX. Life Insurance—Sheppard Homans. X. The Administration of Criminal Justice—George C. Barrett. XI. Health Laws and their Administration—Elisha Harris. XII. An International Code—D. D. Field. XIII. General Intelligence. XIV. Constitution. XV. List of New Members. XVI. List of Works relating to Social Science published in 1869.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THREE.—I. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns—F. L. Olmsted. II. Art Education in America—C. C. Perkins. III. Civilization and Health—Francis Bacon. IV. American System of Patents—S. A. Duncan. V. Nature and Sphere of Police Power—T. D. Woolsey. VI. Legislation and Social Science—E. L. Godkin. VII. Representation of Minorities—D. D. Field. VIII. Relations of Business Men to National Legislation—H. A. Hill. IX. Houses in the Country for Working Men—G. B. Emerson. X. Minority Representation in Europe—Thomas Hare. XI. Application of Mr. Hare's System of Voting to the Nomination of Overseers of Harvard College—W. R. Ware. XII. General Intelligence. 1. Home. 2. Foreign.

NUMBER FOUR is out of print, as well as NUMBERS ONE, THREE, EIGHT, and NINE.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIVE.—I. Municipal Government—Dorman B. Eaton. II. Higher Education of Women—T. W. Higginson. III. Restoration of the Currency—Joseph S. Ropes. IV. Some Results of the Census—Francis A. Walker. V. Public Vaccination—F. P. Foster. VI. The International—David A. Wasson. VII. Legislation in Relation to Pharmacy—G. F. H. Markoe. VIII. General Intelligence.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIX.—General Meeting at New York. I. Opening Address—George William Curtis. II. The Work of Social Science in the United States—F. B. Sanborn. III. Financial Administration—G. Bradford. IV. Conference of the Boards of Public Charities. V. Pauperism in the City of New York. VI. The Farmers' Movement in the Western States—Willard C. Flagg. VII. Ocean Lanes for Steamship Navigation—Prof. B. Peirce. VIII. Rational Principles of Taxation—David A. Wells. IX. American Railroads—Gardiner G. Hubbard. X. Reformation of Prisoners—Z. R. Brockway. XI. The Deaf-mute College at Washington—Edward M. Gallaudet. XII. The Protection of Animals—George T. Angell. XIII. American Finance—Prof. W. G. Sumner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVEN.—I. Private Property upon the Sea—Rev. Dr. Woolsey. II. Conference of Boards of Health. III. (School Hygiene)—Drs. D. F. Lincoln and A. L. Carroll. IV. Tent Hospitals—Dr. J. F. Jenkins. V. National, State, and Sectarian Universities—A. D. White and Dr. McCosh. VI. Free Lending Libraries—W. W. Greenough. VII. The Young Men's Christian Association—Cephas Brainard. VIII. Ocean Lanes. IX. Prison Reform in Europe and America—Dr. Wines and F. B. Sanborn. X. Social Science Record. XI. Conference of Boards of Charities.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHT.—I. The Production and Distribution of Wealth—David A. Wells. II. The Work of Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. III. Progress in International Law—J. B. Angell. IV. The Experiment of Civil Service Reform—Dorman B. Eaton. V. The Treatment of the Guilty—W. G. Eliot. VI. Health in Schools—Drs. D. F. Lincoln, J. J. Putnam, etc. VII. Financial Policy of England and the United States—G. Bradford. VIII. Limitations of Judicial Power—Emory Washburn. IX. Life Insurance for the Poor—Elizur Wright and Sheppard Homans. X. Legal Education—W. G. Hammond. XI. The Detroit Meeting.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINE.—I. Social Science in Theory and Practice—F. B. Sanborn. II. The Silver Question—W. Stanley Jevons. III. The Silver Question—B. F. Nourse. IV. Savings Banks—John P. Townsend. V. Local Taxation—William Minot, Jr. VI.

Industrial and Social Aspects of the Southern Question — W. L. Trenholm. VII. Education in the Southern States — T. M. Logan. VIII. The Navigation Laws of Great Britain and the United States — Hamilton A. Hill. IX. The Tariff Question — Horace White. X. Custom House Forms — Henry D. Hyde. XI. State and Municipal Government — Samuel Bowles. XII. Municipal Economy — Daniel L. Harris.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TEN.— Transactions of the Association, 1879. I. American Education, 1869–79. Annual Address of President Gilman. II. The Method of Study in Social Science — William T. Harris. III. Report of the Department of Education — Mrs. I. T. Talbot. IV. The Voting of Women in School Elections — A. P. Peabody. V. Relations of Christianity to the Common Law — M. B. Anderson. VI. The Place of the Practical Man in American Public Affairs — Hamilton Andrews Hill. VII. Chinese Immigration — S. Wells Williams. VIII. The United States and the Declaration of Paris — Theodore S. Woolsey. IX. Recent Changes in our State Constitutions — Simeon E. Baldwin. X. The Policy of Patent Laws — Frederic H. Betts. XI. The Sewerage of the Smaller Towns — George E. Waring, Jr. XII. Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation — Joseph D. Weeks.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER ELEVEN.— Report of the Annual Meeting, 1880. List of Members. I. Southern Questions: 1. The Negro Exodus from the Gulf States — Frederick Douglass. 2. The Emigration of Colored Citizens from the Southern States — R. T. Greener. 3. Colored Schools in Virginia — Mrs. Orra Langhorne. II. Recent Changes in the West — Robert P. Porter. III. A Report on Protection from Casualties in the Use of Machinery — Professor William Watson. IV. International Coinage — Robert Noxon Toppan. V. Social Economy Papers: 1. Report of the Department of Social Economy — F. B. Sanborn. 2. The Care of Poor and Vicious Children — Charles L. Brace. 3. Social Economy in Illinois — Mrs. Harbert. 4. Co-operative Distribution — William A. Hovey. 5. Co-operation in England — James Samuelson. Saratoga Papers of 1877: 1. Extradition — Sheldon Amos. 2. Graduate Courses at Law Schools — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWELVE.— Professor Peirce's Cincinnati Address: The National Importance of Social Science in the United States. President Gilman's Opening Address. Report of the General Secretary, by F. B. Sanborn. Report of the Treasurer and Publication Committee: Professor Wayland and F. B. Sanborn. Papers of the Education Department: I. Report on Kindergarten Schools — Professor Harris, Mrs. Talbot. II. The Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools — Samuel S. Green. III. Educational Progress in England — Miss Edith Simcox. IV. Home Life in some of its Relations to Schools — Miss Mary W. Hinman. V. The American Newspaper and American Education — Dr. J. M. Gregory. Libel and its Legal Remedy — E. L. Godkin. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Associated Charities. A. The Principle and Advantage of Association in Charities — Rev. D. O. Kellogg. B. General and Special Methods of Operation — Rev. O. C. McCulloch. C. The Need and Work of Volunteer Visitors — R. T. Paine, Jr. D. The Care and Saving of Neglected Children — Miss Anna Hallowell. II. The Principle of Volunteer Service — Mrs. Florence Bayard Lockwood. III. The Recreations of the People — George B. Bartlett. IV. The Justifying Value of a Public Park — F. L. Olmsted. Constitution, Officers, and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTEEN.— Order of Business at Saratoga in 1881. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: I. Pensions in a Republic — Frederick J. Kingsbury. II. Modern Legislation touching Marital Property Rights — Henry Hitchcock, LL.D. III. The German Socialist Law of Oct. 21, 1878 — Henry W. Farnam. IV. The Study of Anatomy, Historically and Legally Considered — Edward Mussey Hartwell, M.A. Papers of the Health Department: I. The Treatment of Insanity in its Economic Aspect — Walter Channing, M.D. II. Adulterations in Food — Professor S. W. Johnson. Debate on Adulterations. Remarks of George T. Angell. General Papers: I. Christianity and the Relations of Nations — Charles L. Brace. II. Indeterminate Sentences and their Results in New York — Z. R. Brockway. III. Changes in American Society — Julia Ward Howe. Appendix; Infant Development.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FOURTEEN.— I. The General Meeting of 1881. Death of President Garfield. II. Opening Address of Professor Wayland, President of the Association. III. The Threefold Aspect of Social Science. Report of the General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn. IV. Civil Service Reform, an address by George W. Curtis. V. The American Newspaper — Charles Dudley Warner. VI. Prohibitory Legislation — P. Emory Aldrich. VII. Province of Legislation in the Suppression of Intemperance — F. W. Bird. VIII. License and Prohibition — Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. IX. The Moral Statistics of the United States — Dr. Woolsey. X. Divorce Laws — Professor W. C. Robinson. XI. Lax Divorce Legislation — Rev. S. W. Dike. XII. Address on Health and Insanity — Walter Channing, M.D. XIII. Women Practising Medicine — Dr. E. F. Pope. XIV. Constitution, List of Members, Officers, and Committees of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIFTEEN.— I. Papers on Infant Development — Professor Harris, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Alcott, Dr. Preyer, M. Taine, etc. II. Report of Mrs. Talbot. III. Religious and Moral Education of Children — Professor G. S. Hall. IV. Treatment of Incipient Insanity — Mary Putnam-Jacobi, M.D. V. Debate on Insanity — Professor W. T. Harris, Dr. Channing, F. B. Sanborn, etc. VI. Papers on Building Associations — R. T. Paine, Jr., and Addison B. Burk. VII. Homes for the People in Washington — John Hitz. VIII. Art in its Relation to the People — Martin Brimmer.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIXTEEN.— Papers of the Health Department: I. Address of the Chairman — Walter Channing, M.D. II. The Michigan Plan for Boards of Health — Dr. Henry B. Baker. III. The Health Care of Households with Special Reference to House Drain-

age — Ezra M. Hunt, M.D. IV. The Health of Boys' Boarding-schools — D. F. Lincoln, M.D. V. The Health of Criminal Women — Eliza M. Mosher, M.D. VI. The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards — Albert N. Blodgett, M.D. VII. Remarks of Mr. Parker on Boards of Health. VIII. International and National Relief in War — Miss Clara Barton. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. II. The Factory System as an Element in Civilization — Carroll D. Wright. III. Early Factory Life in New England — Mrs H. H. Robinson. IV. American Factory Life — Miss Lucy Larcom. V. Ten Hours — Rev. Jesse H. Jones.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVENTEEN.— I. Introduction. II. Address — Rev. A. D. Mayo, on National Aid to Education. III. Address — President Angell, on Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department, namely: 1. Professional Ethics — Theodore Bacon. 2. Local Self-government — Edward W. Bemis. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime — James F. Colby. 4. A Plan for Extinguishing Crime — Edwin Hill. 5. Punishment for Certain Crimes — H. A. Hill. V. Address — Professor W. T. Harris. VI. The Darwin Commemoration. VII. A Paper on the Progressive Spelling — Rev. H. L. Wayland. VIII. Miscellaneous Matters.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHTEEN.— I. Introductory. II. Opening Address — Professor Wayland. III. Report of the General Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. IV. Papers on Health and Education: 1. Health and Social Science — Dr. E. M. Hunt. 2. Physical Training in Homes and Training-schools — Professor D. A. Sargent. 3. True Higher Education — W. C. Thomas. 4. Causes of Insanity — Dr. W. Channing. 5. Inebriety in Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 6. The Disease of Inebriety — Dr. T. D. Crothers. 7. House-building and Drainage — G. E. Waring, Jr. 8. Moral Education in Schools — Professor W. T. Harris. V. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Assertion of Rights — J. T. Platt. 2. International Ethics — E. M. Gallaudet, LL.D. 3. Legal History of the Telephone — M. F. Tyler. VI. Addresses and Special Papers: 1. American Civil Service System — J. M. Gregory, LL.D. 2. Public Libraries — J. M. Larned. 3. Religion of India — Mr. Mozoomdar. 4. New Methods of Study in History — H. B. Adams. VII. Papers of the Social Economy Department, namely: 1. Race Problems in the United States — Professor C. A. Gardner. 2. Relatibns between Employers and Employed — Mrs. S. K. Bolton. 3. Child-helping in New York — C. L. Brace. 4. Prison Labor.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINETEEN.— I. Introductory. II. Report of the Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. III. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation — C. D. Wright. 2. Financial Standing of States — Henry C. Adams. 3. The Rate of Wages — Edward Atkinson. 4. Industrial Education — F. A. Walker. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Conflict of State Laws — Eugene Smith. 2. The Pardoning Power — F. Wayland. 3. Threefold Basis of the Criminal Law — F. H. Wines. V. Hebrew Charities — Mary M. Cohen. VI. Constitution and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY.— I. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Function of Latin and Greek in Education — Dr. W. T. Harris. 2. Problems in Education — Mrs. Emily Talbot. 3. Athletic Education — Dr. Edward Hitchcock. 4. Physical Education in Women's Colleges — Mrs. R. S. Bryan. 5. The Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland — Miss Lumsden. II. Additional Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Law for the Commitment of Lunatics — Mr. F. H. Wines. 2. Lunacy Legislation in the North-west — Professor A. O. Wright. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Dr. Sargent's Summary. 2. Tenement Houses — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. IV. The Civil Service in States and Cities — Edward M. Shepard.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-ONE.— 1. President Eaton's Address, 1885. 2. Business and Debates of 1885. 3. Synopsis of Social Science Instruction in Colleges. 4. Methodical Education in Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. 5. Social Science and Social Conditions — W. T. Harris. 6. The Unnamed Third Party — H. L. Wayland. 7. Socialism and State Action — Edward W. Bemis. 8. Labor Unions under Democratic Government — D. M. Means. 9. Influence of City Life on Health and Development — Dr. G. Peckham. 10. The Health of American Cities — C. F. Wingate. 11. The Physical Training of Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 12. The Constitution and National Development — E. V. Reynolds. 13. Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians — President Gates. 14. Arbitration of Labor Disputes — Rev. W. Gladden. 15. The Place of Art in Education — Thomas Davidson. 16 The Relation of the Drama to Education — W. O. Partridge. 17. Child-life in City and Country — C. D. Kellogg. 18. City and Country Schools — W. M. Beckner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-TWO.— Conference of Alienists. Business and Debates of 1886. Notice of Deceased Members. I. Papers of the Department of Education: 1. The Definition of Social Science and its Classification — W. T. Harris. 2. Social Science Instruction in Colleges — Mrs. Emily Talbot and W. T. Harris. 3. Popular Instruction in Social Science — Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers of the Department of Health. 1. The Nervousness of Americans — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. Mineral Waters of America and Europe — T. M. Coan, M.D. 3. Rabies and How to Prevent it — Valentine Mott, M.D. 4. Noses — H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D. 5. The Science of Dietetics — Wallace Wood, M.D. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman: Labor and Capital — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Property — Thomas Davidson. 3. Letters of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Wayland. 4. The Right of Property in Land — W. T. Harris, LL.D. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Postal Savings Banks — Dr. H. L. Wayland. 2. How to deal with Habitual Criminals — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

8 1 C / B

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.— Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President: Problems of the Census — Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor — F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments — A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered — G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations — J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question — Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury — D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty — Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incorrigible — Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State — H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses — H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.— Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs — D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal — Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type — William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases — C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address — T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges — Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women — Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE — General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor — Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree — Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education? — W. A. Purrington. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education Antecedent to the Study of Medicine — Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations — Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided? — Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States — John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois — Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York — Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations — Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas — Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance — Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States — J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.— General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly — President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property — George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime — S. T. Dutton. 4 Immigration and Crime — W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand — Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane — Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England — Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.— General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South — Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate — Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.— General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations — S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions — S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages — Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut — F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory — Mrs. C R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration — Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions — George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices — E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia — Dr. Paul Gibier. 2. The Silver Question — J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service — W. D. Foulke.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890, and Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891.

Sold by DAMRELL & UPHAM, Boston; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York; and by

F. B. SANBORN, *Secretary*,

CONCORD, MASS.

JOURNAL

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXIX.

AUGUST, 1892

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1890 AND 1891

PART II.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

PUBLISHED FOR THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK

1892

EDITED BY

F. B. SANBORN

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

CONCORD, MASS.

Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF 1892	v–vii
THE LATE DR. PLINY EARLE	viii–xv
LIST OF DR. EARLE'S PUBLICATIONS	xvi
MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF 1890, 1891, ETC.	1–61
1. SUMMER CAMPS FOR BOYS. DR. W. T. TALBOT	1–8
2. THE NEW YORK CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT. DR. CYRUS EDSON	9–24
3. THE TENEMENT HOUSE AND THE CHILDREN. DR. MARY E. HERRICK	25–33
4. PROGRESS OF THE FINANCIAL CREDIT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1861–90. JOSEPH T. BROWN	34–48
5. AIDS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. F. B. SANBORN .	49–56
6. THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS. DR. FREDERIC PETERSON . .	57–61
CONSTITUTION, LIST OF OFFICERS, ETC., OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (AUG. 15, 1892)	63–72
PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION	73–76

The attention of members of the Association is called to the announcement of Addresses, Reports, Papers, etc., to be presented at the General Meeting of 1892 at Saratoga, as printed on pages v–vii, immediately following this page.

INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are a few of the Saratoga papers of 1890–91. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the Addresses and Papers for the meeting of 1892 is printed on pages v–vii.

CONCORD, MASS., Aug. 15, 1892.

American Social Science Association.

GENERAL MEETING OF 1892.

The General Meeting of 1892 will be held at the large Court-room in the Town Hall in Saratoga, beginning Monday, August 29, and closing Friday, September 2.

The opening Address will be given by the President, H. L. WAYLAND, D.D., of Philadelphia, Monday evening, August 29, at 8.00 P.M. Subject, "*Has the State Abdicated?*" On the same evening at 9.00 P.M. Rev. J. M. BUCKLEY, D.D., of New York, will address the Association, on "*Mental and Moral Contagion.*"

The Departments will hold sessions as follows: —

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30.

Department of Education.

9.30 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman, MERRILL EDWARDS GATES, LL.D., President of Amherst College.

10.00 A.M. Report of the Secretary, Dr. LOUISE FISKE BRYSON, of New York, on "*Education in the Treatment of Nervous Girls.*"

11.00 A.M. A Paper by Miss C. M. HEWINS, of the Hartford Library, Connecticut, on "*Public Libraries as a Factor in Education.*"

11.30 A.M. A Paper on the "*Educational Value of Modern Economics,*" by STARR HOYT NICHOLS, Esq., of New York.

12.00 M. A Paper on "*Art Education in American Life,*" by MYRA B. MARTIN, of New York.

8.00 P.M. Annual Election of Officers.

8.30 P.M. A Report by the General Secretary, followed by a Debate.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31.

Department of Health.

9.00 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman of the Department, FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., of New York.

9.30. A.M. A Report by the Secretary of the Department, W. D. GRANGER, M.D., on the "*Work of the Health Department since its Organization.*"

10.00 A.M. A Paper by MATTHEW D. FIELD, M.D., of New York, on "*The Care of the Public Insane in New York City.*"

10.30 A.M. A Paper by RALPH L. PARSONS, M.D., of Sing Sing, N.Y., on "*Management of Incipient and Mild Cases of Mental Disturbance.*"

11.00 A.M. Discussion of the preceding Papers.

11.30 A.M. A Paper by Dr. E. F. BRUSH, of Bronxville, N. Y., on "*Why is Man affected with Tuberculosis?*"

12.00 M. A Paper by HENRY LING TAYLOR, M.D., of New York, on "*American Childhood Hygienically Considered,*" followed by debate.

8.00 P.M. An Address by W. W. KEEN, M.D., of Philadelphia, on "*The Modern Surgery of the Brain.*"

9.00 P.M. A Paper by FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., of New York, on "*The Old and the New Phrenology.*"

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

Department of Jurisprudence.

10.00 A.M. Remarks by the Chairman of the Department, Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of New Haven, Ct.

10.30 A.M. A Paper on "*The Reading Leases,*" by C. LA RUE MUNSON, Esq., of Williamsport, Pa.

12.00 M. A Paper on "*State Supervision of Insurance Companies,*" by SAMUEL MARSH, Esq., of New York.

12.30 P.M. A Paper on "*County Jails as Reformatory Institutions,*" by EDWARD B. MERRILL, Esq., of New York.

8.00 P.M. Papers on "*Crime and Penalty in the United States,*" and on "*Our Diplomatic Service,*" by Hon. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, of Ithaca, N.Y.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

Department of Social Economy.

9.30 A.M. Address by the Chairman of the Department, F. B. SANBORN, of Concord.

10.00 A.M. Report by the Secretary of the Department, on "*The Sweating System*," by JOSEPH LEE, Esq., of Brookline, Mass.

11.00 A.M. A Paper on "*The Sweating System in Massachusetts*," by H. G. WADLIN, Esq., Labor Commissioner of Massachusetts.

11.30 A.M. A Paper on "*Conditions of the Labor of Women and Children observed by a Dispensary Physician in New York*," by ANNIE S. DANIEL, M.D., of New York.

12.00 M. A Paper on "*The Actual State of Tenements in Boston where Work is carried on*," by WILLIAM F. HICKS, Esq., of the Boston Board of Health.

12.30 P.M. Discussion of the Subject.

4.00 P.M. Papers on "*The Sweating System in Germany*," by Rev. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, of Brockton, Mass., and on "*Remedial Measures proposed in England by the House of Lords Commission with their Results*," by Mr. DAVID F. SCHLOSS.

4.30 P.M. General Debate on the Sweating System in America and Europe.

8.00 P.M. An Address on "*Architecture in Relation to Life*," by Mr. BARR FERREE, of New York.

The headquarters of the Association will be at the UNITED STATES HOTEL as usual, where members and guests of the Association will be received at the reduced rate of $3 a day.

By order of the Council,

F. B. SANBORN, *General Secretary*.

CONCORD, MASS., August 10, 1892.

DR. PLINY EARLE.

Among the members of our Association who have died since the last General Meeting, the oldest and most distinguished is Dr. Earle, whose death took place at the State Hospital for the Insane in Northampton, Mass., May 17, 1892. He was at the head of this well-known establishment from July, 1864, until November, 1885; and he continued to reside there, by invitation of the State authorities, until his death. His funeral took place in the chapel of this hospital, where he had so many hundred times met his patients and addressed them, on a great variety of topics, from the desk; for he was the first person in the world, it is said, who ever addressed a gathering of the insane in any other than a religious discourse, and the only one who ever gave a course of lectures on insanity to his patients. However this may be, he had certainly spoken to them more frequently, and on a greater variety of subjects, than any American specialist yet known. He was also one of the earliest, in this or any other country, to study insanity thoroughly on its practical and statistical sides; and his contributions to human knowledge in this matter have been more important than those of any member of our Association, or perhaps any citizen of the United States.

Pliny Earle was the son of a manufacturer and inventor, in the town of Leicester, near Worcester, Mass., where he was born Dec. 31, 1809. He belonged by descent and conviction to the Society of Friends; and his first American ancestor was Ralph Earle, one of the founders of the colony of Rhode Island. He was educated at the Leicester Academy and the Friends' School at Providence, where also he was a teacher for some years. He there began the study of medicine, which he pursued at the Medical School in Philadelphia, where he took his degree of M.D. in 1837. Almost immediately after this he visited Europe, where he remained for several years, travelling and residing in Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Germany; and soon after his return home was appointed — in 1840 — resident physician of the Friends' Asylum for the Insane at Frankford, near Philadelphia,— a small

establishment, resembling in its character and management the famous York Retreat in England, which has this year celebrated the Centenary of its existence. In delivering his address at this Centenary meeting, May 6, 1892, Dr. D. H. Tuke, great-grandson of William Tuke, who was virtually the founder of the York Retreat, alluded to the visit made by Dr. Earle, in 1839, to this Retreat, and spoke of Dr. Thurnam, who was Dr. Earle's predecessor in the careful study of the curability of the insane. Dr. Earle was chosen in 1844 Superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum, near the city of New York, and remained there until he went abroad again, before 1850. After his return from this second visit to Europe he entered general practice, but with a constant inclination toward the specialty of insanity, for which he had trained himself; and in 1853 he was visiting physician of the pauper asylum of New York City, where he directed attention to some abuses then existing there. In the same year he was a lecturer on insanity in the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons; and afterward was appointed Professor of Psychology in the Berkshire Medical School at Pittsfield, Mass.,— the first professorship of this kind in an American medical college. Some ten years before he had carried on for some years, in the Bloomingdale Asylum, the first school for insane patients ever maintained in such an establishment; and in 1844 he was one of the thirteen physicians and specialists who founded what was long known as the Association of Medical Superintendents of Hospitals for the Insane. He was the last survivor of these earnest men, and was President of the Association in 1884–85. He was the first President of the New England Psychological Society,—a local association having the same general aim,— and was connected more or less actively with many societies, here and in Europe, having for their object the improvement of mankind, to which he was sincerely devoted. He was an honorary member for forty-eight years of the Medico-Psychological Association of Great Britain and Ireland, and contributed to its admirable *Journal of Mental Science*, of which Dr. Tuke has long been the editor. In the latest number (CLXIII.) of this Journal for July, 1892, Dr. Tuke says of him, among other things: —

> Dr. Earle, as is well known, attracted great attention at one time to the question of the degree to which the insane recover; and caused much surprise, not unaccompanied by incredulity, by demonstrating from statistics that the percentage of recoveries was smaller than supposed, and the proportion of relapses greater.

He was foremost in exploding the constant and seductive fallacy of confounding persons with cases; and, unfortunately, not a few remain unable to understand or appreciate the distinction between the two. He revelled in figures, whether scientific or financial, and in regard to the former may be compared to Dr. Thurnam, for whose laborious researches he entertained the greatest respect. In regard to asylum construction, he favored a departure from the orthodox views current among the old school of American alienists. In this and other respects he was a man of independent opinion. In religion he was broad and catholic in his views, and a foe to theological intolerance. Ministers of all shades of belief officiated in turn at the Sunday services held in the asylum.

Dr. Earle became early a member of our Association, and was one of those consulted at its formation, in 1865, by his friends of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, before issuing their call for its first meeting in that year. He did not often attend our meetings; but he presided at an important sectional meeting in Saratoga in 1886, when several of the specialists in his department met, in conjunction with our Association, to consider an improved form of statistical inquiry concerning the insane. He was also much interested in the National Conference of Charities, which grew out of our Association; and at its first separate meeting at Chicago, in 1879, he read one of the most valuable essays on the relation of the State to the insane which has ever been printed in America. This essay has had more influence in modifying erroneous and traditional notions in respect to buildings for the insane than any recent publication; and the majority of our public men now appear to have adopted, at least in theory, the views then advanced by Dr. Earle. He was the real originator, although the present writer and his associates on the State Board of Lunacy Commissioners in Massachusetts were the promulgators, of the new form of statistical inquiry, which in Massachusetts has developed, for the first time, certain facts of great importance in regard to the duration and curability of insanity in general, the mortality of the insane, the repetition of attacks,— and other information, without which no general conclusions can safely be drawn in regard to this subject so interesting to society.

Apart from his long and useful care of so many thousand insane patients, and his introduction of sound discipline into the asylums which he conducted, Dr. Earle's great work, and that by which he will be best known hereafter, was his demonstration (alluded to by Dr. Tuke) that insanity was by no means so curable as had been

fondly hoped, and often proclaimed, by physicians long associated with himself in their treatment of patients. The first suggestion of this demonstration, and the first sound statement respecting the curability of the insane, came from Dr. Thurnam, of the York Retreat; but it was left for Dr. Earle, amidst much credulity and opposition from men who should have accepted and supported his honest communications, to prove to the world that the old figures of recovery were useless, and that the profession must take a new departure, and put forth very different proposals, if it still wished to be believed by the trusting public. So many years have passed since the controversy on this subject sprang up, and so completely have Dr. Earle's conclusions, in the main, been accepted, that no doubt many persons suppose the medical profession was always on the right track in this matter. But the contrary, to a mortifying degree, and to the great economic injury and delusion of the public, was the fact. Without pursuing this subject farther or raising the spectres of half-forgotten disputes, I may be permitted to reprint here from the columns of a newspaper what I wrote soon after the death of my ancient friend, our illustrious associate: —

The Late Dr. Earle.

To the Editor of the Boston Advertiser:

The tributes to Dr. Earle's character and achievement have been ample and sincere; but something should be said of the relative rank which he held among his countrymen during the long life that has now so suddenly closed, It would be a mistake to class him simply with those specialists with whom he has been associated for more than half a century, and to compare him with individuals such as Dr. Ray, Dr. Butler, Dr. Bell, and Dr. Kirkbride. In some respects these accomplished men equalled or surpassed Dr. Earle; but his distinction, like that of Charles Sumner, of Horace Mann, of Dr. Howe, and some others of the remarkable group of New England men to which he belonged, was this,—that he early saw and studiously followed, both with theory and practice, the real situation concerning the subject to which he devoted his great special attainments. I think it will be difficult to find in the copious writings of Dr. Earle any encouragement for those delusions that have from time to time prevailed respecting the disease of insanity, its curability, its treatment, and the relation of the public thereto. He had qualified himself by residence and observation in Europe, about the time that Sumner was doing the same thing, to understand from the wider experience which Europe then furnished what would be the future exigencies of America in his own specialty. I have always regarded these years of study and travel as

fitting him, above all his contemporaries, to take a broad and safe view of a subject then very imperfectly known in the United States; and when this led him in later years, against the tradition of his professional associates, to declare that insanity was among the least curable of human ailments, instead of being, as enthusiasts had declared, easily curable, he had a foundation of observation and reading which made him quite indifferent to the early outcry made against his unacceptable demonstration, by learned specialists who had not themselves investigated rationally and thoroughly.

So, too, with regard to the form of establishment in which insanity can best be treated. Dr. Earle never fell into that convenient error of his associates, which led them to maintain that insane persons can be cared for properly in huge caravansaries, where all individuality is lost, and where medical skill and moral treatment become equally unavailing, since they are neutralized by the unfavorable influences, material, mental, and spiritual, which inevitably occur in these great aggregations of morbid humanity, subjected to mechanical management, and deprived of those natural conditions of human society which have so much to do with the restoration of alienated minds. He resisted, at the risk of much censure from those whose opinion he valued, the erection in Massachusetts of palace-hospitals like that in Danvers; and he never gave the weight of his support to the unwise scheme now under consideration, of herding the insane poor in overgrown asylums, like that proposed at Medfield. On the contrary, he advocated small asylums, individual care, and — although he came slowly to this last opinion — the reception of the chronic insane into private families, instead of sending them to the almshouses or the asylum prisons.

No one will now question that Dr. Earle had mastered the literature of insanity more completely than any American who has written on that subject. He began his researches before he graduated, and he continued them almost to the day of his death. His last contribution to this literature was an article on the curability of the insane, furnished by him in 1891 to Dr. Tuke's Dictionary of Psychological Medicine, of which he showed me the proof-sheets when I last visited him in March, 1892. He had made arrangements for the publication by his executors of some portion of his writings; and it cannot be doubted that these will be an important part of what America has contributed to a knowledge of insanity. With the later inquiries into the morbid pathology of the brain he had little to do, and perhaps did not attach to them all the value they deserved. But no man was more ready than he to accept what was demonstrated; and few scientific men had so little of that engrossing spirit which leads them to claim for themselves the merit of discoveries and the monopoly of authority. His early training and consistent practice in the peaceful and modest tenets of the Society of Friends no doubt guarded him against some vain controversies, some immoderate ambitions. He followed humbly and sacredly the Inner Light, with very little

desire to set up his own enlightenment as the limit for all other persons. Few persons of my acquaintance leave a more enviable reputation.

It will at once be seen how invaluable in the field of Social Science were the long labors of our late associate. He began them at a time when the name of Social Science was almost unknown, and its methods xisted but here and there, in the practical work of men like himself, endowed by nature with a power of bringing the results of observation to the support of general principles, without tying himself to a tradition or to his own presupposition. He continued them calmly, and followed where experience led him,— no matter who might favor or who oppose his conclusions,— preferring, such was his kindly social nature, to be sustained by the approval of his comrades,— yet quite ready to accept the usual reward of original thought,— bestowed freely since the world began,— contradiction and aspersion at first, and silent adhesion afterward. Such men, each in his specialty, are the masters in our comprehensive circle of sciences, adding each no great thing, perhaps, to what was known before,— yet just that something which was indispensable, and at the very point of time when it was needed. By their accretions the structure of civilization is built up, even as the coral-builders add each his part to the common edifice, and then die, that others may profit by the patient toil in which their own days have been silently consumed.

F. B. S.

Concord, Mass., Aug. 10, 1892.

A LIST OF DR. EARLE'S PRINTED BOOKS AND PAPERS.

(I.) (1841) *A Visit to Thirteen Asylums for the Insane in Europe.* (Visits made in 1837, 1838, 1839, and in 1840.) (Philadelphia: J. Dobson. pp. 144.)

(II.) (1848) *History, Description, and Statistics of the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane.* (New York: Egbert, Hovey & King. pp. 136.)

(III.) (1848) *Four Annual Reports of the Bloomingdale Asylum* (1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, all for the years preceding). (pp. 55, 48, 32, 28.)

(IV.) (1853) *Institutions for the Insane in Prussia, Austria, and Germany.* (Visits made in 1848, 1849.) (Utica: New York Asylum, Printers. pp. 229.)

(V.) (1853) *European Institutions for Idiots.* (New York: Wm. Saunderson Printer. pp. 22.)

(VI.) (1854) *The Practice of Blood-letting in Mental Disorders.* (New York: S. S. & William Wood. pp. 126.)

(VII.) (1857) *Medical Opinion in the Parish Will Case.* (pp. 50.)

(VIII.) (1862) *Chapter on Insanity in United States Census: Quarto Volume, for* 1860. (Printed by the Government Printers.)

(IX.) (1864–85) *Reports of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton, Mass.* (Printed by the State Printers at Boston. Pp. nearly 2,000 in all.)

(X.) (1877) *The Curability of Insanity.* (First Form of this Work in a Pamphlet issued by the New England Psychological Society. Boston.)

(XI.) (1879) *The Management of the Insane in the American States.* (Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Charities at Chicago, June, 1879, pp. 42–59.) (Boston: A. Williams & Co.)

(XII.) (1887) *The Curability of Insanity: A Series of Studies.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. pp. 232.)

(XIII.) (1838–92) An incomplete list of Dr. Earle's contributions to Reviews, Annuals, Dictionaries, etc., follows: —

1838. *Insanity: Its Causes, Duration, Termination, and Moral Treatment.* (Part of his Medical Thesis of 1837.)
1840. *The Climate, Population, Diseases, etc., of Malta.*
1840. *Medical Institutions, Diseases, etc., at Athens and Constantinople.*
1841. *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in London.*
1842–45. *Observations on the Rapidity of the Pulse of the Insane.*
1843. *The Curability of Insanity.* (First Paper.)
1845. *The Inability to distinguish Colors.*
1845. *Experiments with Conium Maculatum.*
1847. *Cases of Paralysis peculiar to the Insane.*
1849–57. *Cases of Partio-General Paralysis, or Paralysis of the Insane.*
1840–42. *Reviews* of Sir William Ellis, of Dr. F. Leuret, of the Statistics of the York Retreat, of Eleven Hospitals.
1843–44. *Reviews* of Reports of Twenty-five American Hospitals, of the Retreat near Leeds, and the Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals in England.
1845. *Reviews* of the Reports of Twenty American Hospitals and Eight English Hospitals.
1846. *Indian Hemp and Mental Alienation.* (Review of J. Moreau.)
1846. *Reviews* of Reports of English Lunacy Commission and of Fifteen American Hospitals.
1844–47. *The Poetry of Insanity, Contributions to the Pathology of Insanity, Cases and a Leaf from the Annals of Insanity.*
1847. *Reviews* of Reports of Nineteen American Hospitals.
1848. *Reviews* of Reports of Eighteen American Hospitals.
1851. *The Insane at Gheel.*
1852. *The Lunatic Hospital at Havana.*
1849–52. *Reviews* of the Reports of Twenty-six American Hospitals.

1853–55. *Reviews* of the Reports of Forty American Hospitals.
1856. *Reviews* and Report of Twenty-three American Hospitals.
1856. *Insanity and Idiocy in Massachusetts.*
1857. *New American Institutions for the Insane.*
1857. *Reviews* of the Reports of Twenty-five American Hospitals.
1858. *Reviews* of the Reports of Twenty-eight American Hospitals.
1859. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-four American Hospitals.
1860. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-three American Hospitals.
1861. *Reviews* of the Reports of Fifteen American Hospitals.
1862. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-six American Hospitals.
1863. *Hospitals in British America.*
1863. *Reviews* of the Reports of Ten American Hospitals.
1864. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-nine American Hospitals.
1865. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-six American Hospitals.
1866. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-five American Hospitals.
1867. *Reviews* of the Reports of Thirty-three American Hospitals.
1867. *History and Description of the Northampton Lunatic Hospital.*
1867. *Psycopathic Hospital of the Future.*
1868. *Psychologic Medicine in the Medical Curriculum.*
1868. *Prospective Provision for the Insane.*
1868. *Reviews* of the Reports of Twenty American Hospitals.
1869. *Reviews* of the Reports of Fifteen American Hospitals.

In addition to these articles, Dr. Earle published in 1846 a review of *Esquirol on Mental Diseases*, in a New York periodical; a *History of Insane Hospitals in the United States*, the first paper read before the New York Academy of Medicine, and published in its records; in 1863 an article in the American Almanac, on *Insanity;* in 1881 an article on the *Curability of the Insane* in the Proceedings of the Conference of Charities; and in 1892 a long article on the same subject in Dr. D. H. Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, published in London two months after Dr. Earle's death. In our *Journal of Social Science* he published in 1889 his paper on *Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane.* In his early days he had written copiously for the literary and daily journals, and contributed in 1837, 1838, 1839, many letters to the Worcester *Spy*, describing his journeys about Europe, which will be used in his memoirs, to be issued in 1893. He published a volume of poems in 1841, and in 1889 a full and valuable Genealogy of the Earle Family.

1. SUMMER CAMPS FOR BOYS.

BY W. T. TALBOT, M.D., OF BOSTON.

What shall the boys do during the long vacation? Where shall they go, and how best care for them? The question has presented itself to many an anxious parent who realizes all too helplessly the increase in nerve tension, the pallor and languor of a naturally healthy son, but does not appreciate or cannot remedy the complex cause of the altered conditions,— long indoor confinement, late hours, smoking, hurried eating, and the deadening mechanism of ordinary school life. The full appreciation of the difficulties and dangers in the life of an only son, particularly, may have come to the thoughtful parent; but what is to be done for him? A boarding-school is not invariably the remedy. Too often it may be the cause of these very evils. The well-meaning but wilful and thoughtful lad, the selfish, the awkward, the lazy, or the timid, are oftentimes trials to parents, who are at their wits' ends to know what is to be done for them. The ever-lengthening vacation period does not lessen the difficulties of the problem, and the summer camp well may offer a timely solution.

Not that spot, pictured in the mind of the old camper, where the trout are plenty and black flies as endurable as rainy weather and bad cooking, but a happy settlement in permanent shanties, well located, systematically organized, and carried forward with high ideals and much energy. It is in such a camp that the boy weary with brain-fagging examinations, and the boy of superfluous, mischief-making energy, alike may receive the care and the attention necessary, and find room each to expand and amplify as best suits his individual needs.

Within fifteen years a number of camps for boys have been begun and carried on, all which have done much good work, all open at many points to severe criticism, and almost all improving with yearly experience and trial. Different conceptions have evolved different methods. There is the backwoods camp where the boys go barefoot, cook their own food, rise and retire late, swim and read at will; the opposite extreme, where military discipline is the main order of the day and individuality is discouraged;

the summer school, wrongly called a camp, where study is the prime object; and, last, the camp (of which there may be many, but should be more) which combines the best qualities of each. To describe the camps already in existence would be uninteresting: it is already a more than twice-told tale. The object of this paper is not to compare their values as educational factors, but to indicate certain lines of thought which have been suggested by personal experience, and to sketch the possibilities of a summer camp.

Camp life is capable of being made an important educational factor in the life of young Americans. It is destined, with many boys and especially those belonging to the class of natural leaders, to supplement in an important degree the work not only of the school, but also that of the family. The subtle charm of beautiful, natural surroundings will help in a marvellous degree to bring out the truest and best side of the boyish nature. It is not easy to indulge in low thoughts or deeds when one lives on the crest of a beautiful hill, overlooking a glorious panorama of mountain, lake, and wood-clad islands, and with the great sun casting light and color and fleeting shadow over the scene. It is there that one may come closer to a true conception of a boy's real character than elsewhere, and find a rare opportunity to extend the helping hand or make the right suggestion at a time most opportune. From *reveillé* in the morning until the bugle sounds a sweet good-night there is nothing here in the environment which tends to degrade or retard awakening manhood. Add to the influence of nature the aid of a number of young men — independent, sympathetic, manly, and energetic — who are willing to work with and for the boys whose inspiration they should be, suggestive and helpful in daily duty and pleasure as well,— and two elements are supplied which will go far to make the camp a success.

The question will be asked, What is this camp life? Ten weeks of life in the woods would mean much discomfort, were not buildings provided rain-proof and airy, cool in warm weather, but warm when cold nights make blankets and a fire almost indispensable. The tent idea is more picturesque than advisable. The dormitory plan fosters a healthful democracy of feeling, and a pride in neatness and order. A matter of no little importance is a wrong habit of breathing at night, which must be corrected, or life will be made unhappy for the disturber of the public peace.

One of the chief lessons to be learned from the camp routine is

that the fault of one is felt by all, and that neglected duties must be done by some one, The work of a large camp is great, but the daily task of each member is small; and where each accomplishes his little labor faithfully and well, all goes smoothly. The galley boy, who pares the potatoes and shells the peas, is no lower down in the social scale than others; for to-morrow he exchanges duties with the more aristocratic post-boy. If the kitchen boy, who wipes the dishes, is not well served at dinner, woe betide the one at fault; for to-morrow as table boy his will be the power to revenge. Turn and turn alike the work is done, and the shirk is made to regret his laziness in due season.

The policy of life in a permanent camp is to economize labor by simplicity of method. The tin dish, therefore, yields to the time-saving and cleanly stone-china ware, and spruce boughs to the light woven-wire cot. The mainspring of life being food, the commissariat requires at once time and attention. Fresh vegetables and milk in abundance, good meats and bread, are a *sine qua non* with growing boys. Then, having provided good material, it is requisite, from the standpoint of health, enjoyment, and finance, that a 'professional cook be employed to make economical luxury possible. Let not wonder be excited if his magic transformations require the aid of that wonderful "Aladdin Oven," whose inventor is so well known in this Association.

A happy, healthful life being the desideratum, a habit of promptness at meal and bed time is taken for granted. Tardiness under any circumstances is a dire offence against the laws of decent living, and solitary meditation on some big, flat rock, where one is exposed to the good-natured jeers and flouts of scoffers who dine, is the deserved reward of the tardy boy, and almost the only punishment ever required in such a camp.

It is a pity for intelligent boys to pass a summer in mental idleness, as many do; and although every day useful information is in great measure absorbed unconsciously, and the whole camp-life becomes a training of mind as well as body, yet some systematic and appropriate brain-work seems desirable. The morning duties well finished, there are a couple of hours before the swim, when minds are brightest and study a pleasure. It is then that the zoölogist and botanist best may reveal the treasures of their knowledge, and the earth-student tell the ever interesting story of the days when the world was young. The astronomer finds his best lecture-desk by the camp-fire in the evening.

Two hours of mental concentration is enough; and, although the subjects are interesting, the daily swim may be even more attractive. A swim it is, and not a bath. All are proficient in the art, through very shame; for, until a boy has swam the two hundred required yards,—the "distance,"—he is allowed to use none of the boats. Not until he can swim a half-mile, without overmuch fatigue, is he permitted freedom with the oar. After that he is master of the lake, and may explore it almost at will. Three minutes of bathing are, if anything, too long; but thirty minutes of swimming are beneficial, if done according to the camp rules. Before the Emperor Trajan an old gladiator was brought, hearty, strong, and well, though over six-score years of age. When questioned regarding the reason for his vigor, he ascribed his remarkable physical career to a use of water within and oil without. It is certainly true that by a daily anointing with olive oil, well rubbed in, the skin is kept in excellent condition; and, when applied just prior to the morning swim, this usually prevents all harm from a prolonged stay in the water, and thus enables one to gain all the advantage possible from that finest of all exercises, by removing the chance of ill effects, cramps, languor, heart-exhaustion, and headache, which completely spoil the sport and render it an injury to many.

The vigorous exercise and the enjoyment of the water, in common with others, aided by the unavoidable climb of the hill up to the camp, make the mess-bugle for dinner the most welcome sound of the day. The hearty, simple, appetizing meal is made yet more enjoyable by a quiet half-hour following; and then the afternoon opens with its possibilities of ball, tennis, "paper chases," varied forms of track-athletics, rowing in the four-oared barges or the boats, and walking-trips to places of interest within a five-mile radius. Then supper, and the day is nearly done. The sunset gun is the signal for lowering the stars and stripes, which have been floating above all the day,—a silent teacher of Duty, Patriotism, and Right; and then the lantern is raised, which for miles around will cast its light and greet the watching eyes of many, assuring them of the protection that a body of right-minded men will always yield. The camp fire is soon aglow; and, as the showers of sparks arise from birch and pine, story and song will bring the camp together, and unconsciously knit more strongly the growing friendships, until all shall most deeply feel the tie of unity in life. So the day passes.

Tattoo arouses the drowsy to their duties; a five minutes' active dumb-bell drill drives the blood from the tired head and induces sleep, the short but earnest prayer for the night is said, and at old curfew time "taps" brings the day to a satisfying close.

The hygienic care of a camp demands unremitting watchfulness and the co-operation of every member. A bit of paper left on the ground, although a little thing in itself, is demoralizing, and suggests disorder, which is very easily indulged in, and which will mar that perfection of physical well-being at which we aim. The sanitary arrangements and the disposal of sewage and débris offer questions for serious and efficient consideration. All refuse matter should be burned or removed from the camp neighborhood every evening.

Too much emphasis can scarcely be laid on the benefit of routine method in the debt of daily duty which each man owes to himself. If the habit be made universal and invariable, it becomes easy to rise in the early mornings of summer promptly, as soon as the eyes are open, and at the first sound of the bugle take the light, wooden dumb-bells in hand, and all in rhythm go through an active awakening and invigorating series of breathing exercises, and other muscular movements for five minutes,— no more and no less,— with no cessation or interruptions. Then out of doors, no matter what the weather,— brush the teeth, and wash the face, neck, hands, arms, chest, and back, with cold water. A vigorous rubbing, and the hurry necessary to dress and fold smoothly the blankets which have been airing thoroughly during the half-hour before breakfast, start the circulation in a way that nothing else will, and bring every one to the table eager for breakfast, with a light heart and cheery face. Nor should less stress be laid on the early bed-hour (never later than nine o'clock), when all will be ready for sleep if the work and play of the day have been conscientiously done.

The physical results of this life are surprising to one who has not watched them from year to year. Taking boys from thirteen to eighteen or nineteen years of age, the increase in weight, height, and general muscular development during ten weeks in camp may safely be stated as twofold that of any other like period in the boys' life. The rounded backs straighten, the chest expands enough to do its work, the irritable nerves are soothed and gain tone, digestion becomes an unconscious pleasure (because unnoticed), and sleep the best refreshment, because timely, sufficient, and necessary.

As a consequence, general health improves, to the lasting benefit of the boy.

The physical side of the boy's life in camp is a matter which it is easy to order properly when the other and more difficult problems in the care of boys are brought to mind. Without experience with children of ignorance, poverty, or crime, and in the belief that a camp life, under almost any circumstances, would be undesirable and demoralizing for them, it would be a waste of time to theorize thereon; but given a mixed class of boys, all standing on a common footing, not of wealth, but of opportunity, many questions arise regarding their mental and moral development. The nervous child, suffering from too much parental affection,— or criticism,— is not to be treated like a boy who is growing up one of many, under little or no home discipline. The boy of earnest, good intention and endeavor needs a very different rein from the boy who, careless of result, tramples and charges wherever and whensoever he wills. No one can accomplish the best results with any boy who has not the double grip upon him of affection based upon thorough respect; and to gain the respect of a boy depends largely upon perfect honesty and openness of thought and word, backed up by action. Perhaps no one can realize more keenly the pressing need of the man who is to act as friend, guide, and leader to boys than he who has lived and worked intimately with them. No school can provide the experience which this daily intercourse is bound to give. Honesty, courage, industry, foresight, and common sense, generosity and self-forgetfulness, patience, courtesy and thoughtfulness toward others,— indeed, all the qualities which go to make up the Christian gentleman,— are needed by the leader of a camp and his helpers. As he possesses a greater or less store of these best traits of character, so will the camp attain success. Not the least among the duties of such a man are his relations to the parents of his boys; and it is here that he will be compelled to cultivate a courteous tact, based on sincerity and good will. With him is the opportunity to make lasting impressions, for good or for evil, upon the plastic minds of young men, who later may have it in their power to harm or to benefit thousands of their fellow-men. The turning-point of a boy's life is during these critical years before he goes to college,— not later, as a rule. As a boy's training is before his college years, so is his life apt to be while there; and it is at this period that many a boy, under the fire of domestic criticism from parents, sisters, brothers,

and all the family, feels that he has no friend in the world, becomes a rebel at heart. And what line is open to him then but opposition and consequent harm? These are the lonely, the difficult, the dangerous years, when the awakening ardor of possible manhood meets no encouragement or response from those who should be natural sympathizers, but who are engrossed with the cares of business or wrapped up in household doings or social claims.

Esprit de corps, fostered by uniformity in dress, by the duties, walks, games, and other doings in common, and especially by the evening gathering about the camp-fire, are strong helps to a right mode of living. Much reliance is rightfully placed on the influence of boys who, having been in the camp before, realize to the full what its ideals are. They will permit no indecency of speech or action, as experience has shown.

If the individuality of the boy be recognized, half the battle is won. If it be seen that a boy is a reasonable being, victory is assured. There is seldom, probably never, a boy to whom, under fitting conditions, an appeal to reason and thoughtful consideration is not of most weighty effect. No boy cares to be thought lacking in ordinary intelligence; and, if matters be put before him in a friendly way, so that he is compelled to *think*, there need be little fear of a wrong deed. To attempt to drive a boy is to injure his character, and punishment with the ordinary boy is seldom desirable or necessary. Ridicule, always good-natured, is a powerful weapon. It will often take the place of punishment, and accomplish its end more swiftly and thoroughly. Ill-natured sarcasm is a dangerous boomerang. It is as needful to be courteous to the boy as to the man; and it is sometimes forgotten that there is never a time when it may rightly be said to the youth, "To-day you are a boy, to-morrow you will be a man." Manhood is the development of each boyish sentiment, thought, and action. Again, what is the battle of life but a shouldering of responsibility? and what better may be done for a boy than, amid proper surroundings and with high aims before him, to suffer him little by little to endure and to account for the accomplishment of definite undertakings?

One other point in the bringing out of a boy's best side is the potent influence of a smile. Frown at the delinquent, and his spirit will rise in opposition, his face will reflect his mental attitude. Smile not *at* him, but *with* him, and mark the change, in-

stantaneous and complete. His surrender is full. He has shown his better side, and is at your mercy.

Results would seem to show that no boy, however fortunately placed at home, can fail to derive benefit from the give-and-take of this free life, and from the wider horizon that is opened to him amid forests and streams. Truest ideals, fresh from nature's press, lie before his eyes to read and mark in storm and sunshine, in lapping waves and rustling breeze, in sunset glow, and in the depths of the deepest starlit heavens.

2. THE NEW YORK CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

PREPARED BY CHARLES G. WILSON, PRESIDENT, AND READ BY CYRUS EDSON, M.D., CHIEF INSPECTOR.

[Friday, Sept. 4, 1891.]

At the last meeting of this society, in 1890, its President, Mr. Andrew D. White, presented a paper entitled "The Government of Cities," in which he severely criticised the Health Department of the city of New York. Mr. White's premises were well taken, but they were based upon facts and conditions that occurred and existed over twenty years ago. To draw conclusions from such premises in this age of progress, Mr. White himself must admit to be scarcely fair. We do not believe, however, that Mr. White intended to attack the present organization of our Department; and, therefore, we do not enter the lists against so able an opponent. It is the purpose of this paper to describe the organization and work of our Health Department to-day, in order that it may stand contrasted with the one that existed more than twenty years ago, and was so eloquently attacked by the distinguished critic.

Under the provisions of the New York Consolidation Act, the organization of the Health Department of the city is divided into two bureaus; namely, the Sanitary Bureau and the Bureau of Records. The Sanitary Bureau is under the charge of William A. Ewing, M.D., Sanitary Superintendent, who, as its chief executive officer, is charged with the general supervision of the sanitary work of the Department, the enforcement of the provisions of the several sections of the Sanitary Code, and the laws and ordinances relating to tenement and lodging houses, and generally of the laws of the State relating to the Health Department of New York City. This bureau is divided into four divisions, as follows: —

First, the Division of Contagious Diseases and Special Medical Sanitary Inspections.

Second, the Division of General and Special Sanitary Inspection.

Third, the Division of Plumbing and Ventilation.

Fourth, the Division of Offensive Trades and Food Inspection.

The Division of Contagious Diseases comprises: —
The Inspectors of Contagious Diseases (Diagnosticians);
The Inspector of Schools and Institutions for Children;
The Corps of Medical Sanitary Inspectors;
The Vaccinating Corps;
The Summer Medical Corps;
The Disinfecting Corps; and
The Veterinarian.

The work of these several officials will be described in the order given.

The Inspectors of Contagious Diseases.

Three physicians, whose abilities and experience qualify them specially for the duty, examine and pass upon the cases of contagious diseases that are sent to the hospitals of the Health Department for care and treatment. Two of these Inspectors serve every twelve hours alternately, and visit, while on duty, all cases reported for hospital treatment situated in that part of the city south of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. The cases that occur in the city north of this boundary are referred to the third Inspector. A comparatively few cases necessitating hospital treatment occur in the latter district. This Inspector is consequently on duty at all times, and, in addition, acts as Medical Sanitary Inspector for part of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards.

The services of the Inspectors have been found very necessary, in order to prevent the removal to the Contagious Disease Hospitals of persons who are afflicted with non-contagious ailments simulating contagious diseases.

The following table shows in detail the work of the Division of Contagious Diseases performed during 1890: —

Total number of cases of diseases examined	1,418
Total number of cases of contagious diseases ordered to hospitals of the department	759
Total number of bodies dead from contagious diseases ordered to Reception Hospital for interment at Hart's Island	9

Inspector of Schools and Institutions for Children.

This Inspector has in charge all sanitary matters relating to schools and institutions for children. He makes daily inspections of these, reporting the unsanitary conditions that are found. The

contagious diseases occurring in them receive particular attention. Investigation of the causes of such outbreaks is carefully made, and isolation of children sick with contagious disease is supervised by him. He examines the monthly reports made in accordance with Chapter 633, Laws of 1886, by resident physicians in charge of institutions for children, and supervises the enforcement of the provisions of that act. During the summer he also has charge of the summer corps of physicians, and from time to time has been detailed to perform other important sanitary duty not connected with this division.

Medical Sanitary Inspectors.

The efforts of these physicians are directed toward preventing and suppressing contagious and other so-called preventable diseases by removal of conditions that favor their development and spread. An ordinance of the Sanitary Code compels physicians to report to the Health Department all cases of contagious or infectious diseases that are seen and diagnosed by them during the preceding twenty-four hours. When the report of such a case is received, it is referred to the Medical Sanitary Inspector in whose district it has occurred.

Eleven such Inspectors have in charge as many districts into which the city has been divided. Each of these inspectors visits the houses in which the cases referred to him exist, and carefully inspects the plumbing, ventilation, and other surroundings that have a recognized hygienic bearing upon the disease, or upon the health of the occupants. Unsanitary conditions found are reported by him through his superiors to the Board of Health, and are removed by order of the latter, served on the owner or one who is responsible. The private physicians in attendance on cases of contagious diseases are held accountable for the maintenance of proper isolation. If this cannot be secured, or the patient is too poor to employ the services of a physician, or if it is desired by the patient, his parents, or guardians, the case is removed to one of the hospitals of the Department.

When a case of contagious disease is found in an apartment where business of any kind is conducted, it is at once removed to one of the department hospitals or to a place where isolation can be safely secured, or the business is stopped until the case has terminated and disinfection has been thoroughly performed. Chil-

dren exposed to contagious diseases are excluded from the schools they are attending, public or private. The following is the form of notification sent to principals of schools by the Medical Sanitary Inspector: —

HEALTH DEPARTMENT — DIVISION OF CONTAGIOUS DISEASES,
No. 309 MULBERRY STREET, NEW YORK, 1890.

The attendance at your school of the following-named children who are in contact with contagion of exposes your other scholars to danger. The law is (Section 150) that no parent, master, or custodian of any child or minor (having power and authority to prevent) shall permit any such child or minor to be unnecessarily exposed, or to needlessly expose any other person to the taking, or to the infection, of any contagious disease.

Respectfully,

CYRUS EDSON, M.D.,
Chief Inspector.

Reported by N. N., Inspector.

This form is on the back of a postal-card, and is mailed as soon as possible after seeing the children or ascertaining their names. The rules governing the exclusion of children from schools on account of exposure to contagious diseases, and enforced by the Medical Sanitary Inspectors, are those adopted by the Board of Education. When a case of contagious disease is found in a building part of which is used for a school, the alternative of permitting removal of the case to a hospital of the Department or of closing the school until the disease has terminated is offered those in charge. In either event, thorough disinfection is performed as soon as conditions permit it. The work of the Sanitary Inspectors is directed also towards preventing the spread of tubercular diseases. To this end a list of persons who die from these diseases is furnished this division daily by the Registrar of Vital Statistics. These cases are distributed among the Inspectors in the same manner as are the cases of contagious diseases. The Inspectors visit the cases and make the inspection of the houses in which they exist, as previously described.

The facts obtained by the following questions of the Sanitary Inspectors indicate the line upon which investigation of tuberculosis cases is made: —

1. Name, age, occupation, nationality. Time of residence in New York City.
2. Exciting causes. Direct and continued exposure.
3. Predisposing causes. Give any evidences of hereditary pre-

disposition. State if deceased have had any previous attack of pulmonary disease, pleurisy, pneumonia, etc.

4. Manner of living.
5. Cleanliness, overcrowding, etc.
6. Condition of premises.
7. Source of milk supply. Give name of New York retailer.

Deaths from malarial fevers are also investigated by the Sanitary Inspectors for the purpose of discovering and removing conditions that may have acted as direct or indirect causes of the disease. Their duties also necessitate visits to physicians and undertakers, in order to effect the observance of the several sections of the Sanitary Code governing their action in the case of contagious or infectious disease.

The Vaccinating Corps.

The Vaccinating Corps was organized under an act passed in 1874. A permanent corps of eight physicians is employed for gratuitous vaccination. One of these physicians has charge of the laboratory for the propagation of vaccine virus, situated at No. 326 East Forty-fourth Street. In the spring and fall of each year additional physicians are appointed for temporary service on the Vaccinating Corps. The city is divided into as many districts as is found necessary to effectively perform vaccination, and a vaccinator is allotted to each. One or two of these men, as circumstances may require, are detailed to vaccinate persons who request it at the office of this division. It is very remarkable that not a single case of small-pox occurred in the city, from contagion acquired there, since June 14, 1889. This must be ascribed largely to the thoroughness with which the people have been vaccinated. In the city of New York the following table, compiled from the records of the Heath Department, shows the death-rate from small-pox 1869–1888, inclusive : —

Deaths from Small-pox, 1869–1890.

Year.	Deaths.	Population.	Rate per 100,000.	Year.	Deaths.	Population.	Rate per 100,000.
1869	203	927,728	21.90	1880	31	1,206,299	2.57
1870	805	942,292	31.08	1881	453	1,242,533	33.30
1871	805	954,636	84.32	1882	259	1,279,560	20.34
1872	929	967,142	96.16	1883	12	1,317,691	0.91
1873	117	979,811	11.94	1884	0	1,356,958	0.00
1874	484	992,646	48.75	1885	26	1,397,395	1.86
1875	1,280	1,041,886	122.85	1886	31	1,439,037	2.15
1876	315	1,072,934	29.36	1887	99	1,481,920	6.68
1877	14	1,104,907	1.27	1888	81	1,526,081	5.31
1878	2	1,137,833	0.18	1889	1	–	–
1879	25	1,171,740	2.13	1890	0	–	–

The result of the work of the Vaccinating Corps did not become apparent until 1876. The death-rate from small-pox previous to 1876 was 59.57 per 100,000. Since that year it has been only 8.38 per 100,000.

Cost of Vaccinations, 1886–1890.

Years	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.
Cash received for virus	$1,549.38	$2,239.36	$2,791.06	$2,459.22	$1,622 51
Salaries, regular vaccinators	$9,449.19	$10,650.00	$12,733.79	$10,599.92	$11,043.35
Salaries, temporary vaccinators	6,202.07	10,292.46	4,008.80	3,987.21	3,523.46
Total salaries	$15,651.26	$20,942.46	$16,742.59	$14,587.13	$14,566.71
Cost of calves and cattle	$2,444.74	$2,637.68	$2,621.00	$2,925.00	1,857.00
Cost of feed	537.05	574.61	476.95	368.60	264.00
Other supplies	554.71	941.85	1,029.78	1,033.86	799.85
Total cost of supplies	$3,536.50	$4,154.14	$4,127.73	$4,327.46	$2,920.85
Number of vaccinations	51,849	89,270	83,063	74,542	92,047
Cost of each vaccination	$0.34+	$0.25½+	$0.21¾	$0.22+	$0.17+

The vaccine virus used is produced by a branch of the Department known as the Vaccine Laboratory; and all surplus virus is sold to applicants from this and other cities at a fixed price, the proceeds being turned into the City Treasury, to be used in paying the salaries of the Temporary Inspectors of Vaccination. In the case of primary vaccinations, strict supervision is made of the work. Each Inspector is required to report his primary vaccinations, and the persons so vaccinated are visited by another Inspector of Vaccination, whose duty it is to report whether or not they were successfully done.

All vaccine virus of the Health Department of New York is produced from carefully selected heifers or young cows inoculated with the best virus obtainable. Each animal is examined by the Department Veterinarian, and only those that show normal vescicles are utilized for charging points. The animals are kept under conditions of the most scrupulous cleanliness. The result of our efforts is the production of a large number (214,300) of points of virus per year that never cause any of the diseases alleged to have been the result of vaccination.

Summer Medical Corps.

The appointment of these Medical Inspectors (forty to fifty) is for the special duty of visiting and prescribing for the sick poor of the tenement-houses during the heated terms of the summer months of July and August. The portions of the city assigned to them are selected in those sections bordering on the east and west sides, where the population is most densely packed in the tenement-houses, and where the most ignorant and impoverished dwell. Through ignorance and neglect, here are found the sick, suffering children who swell the mortality records during this period of each year. Each inspector is charged with the duty of visiting the people of every domicile in each tenement-house in his district, inquiring for the sick, and, whenever they are without proper medical attendance, prescribing for them, and at the same time enforcing household sanitation wherever found necessary; distributing the circulars (printed in three languages) to each domicile, embodying the Board's directions for the care of infants and children.

These inspectors report to the Chief Inspector semi-weekly the houses and families visited and the kind of service performed. These reports are tabulated weekly and forwarded to the Board,

and the whole finally tabulated when the term of service has expired, and presented to the Board. The service is arduous and exhausting, but faithfully performed to the saving of many infants' lives that would otherwise perish from neglect, ignorance, and poverty. The tables of mortality of children under five years of age show a marked and rapid decrease in number soon after the work of this corps commenced, vividly illustrating its value in saving and protecting this infantile life during the most trying and exhausting season of the year.

Number of tenement-house visitations	40,364
Number of families visited	321,012
Number of sick treated	20,449
Number of sick treated on boats of St. John's Guild	445
Number of minor nuisances abated by personal effort	5,413
Number of complaints of nuisances forwarded	551
Number of circulars for care of infants distributed	51,784
Number of tickets to the St. John's Guild excursions distributed	16,027

The Disinfecting Corps.

Twelve men do the work of this corps. The city is divided into eight districts for the purpose of disinfecting houses during and after the occurrence in them of contagious diseases. Each case of contagious disease is visited by the disinfector in whose district it occurs. Disinfectants are left, and instructions how to use them given to the persons in charge of the case. A printed circular on the subject of disinfection is also given. After the termination of cases of contagious diseases infected rooms are fumigated by means of sulphur dioxide, generated in the manner recommended by the American Public Health Association. Two wagons are used by members of this corps,— one to carry and distribute disinfectants, the other to remove infected material to the disinfecting station, at the foot of East Sixteenth Street, for the purpose of disinfection by heat. At this place an elaborate apparatus has been erected, into which all infected articles can be put and disinfected with hot air or steam. A citizen desiring to have his house or rooms disinfected has only to write to this office requesting it. Then all such requests are complied with at the expense of the city.

During the summer, when street excavations are offensive, two men are detailed to disinfect them by means of bromine solutions, and to instruct contractors of subway constructions in the use of bromine for this purpose. These men also enforce the rule of the Board of Health compelling contractors to properly disinfect the offensive earth from trenches opened by them in the streets.

Four members of the Disinfecting Corps are detailed for ambulance service, in order to remove to the hospitals of the Department persons sick with contagious diseases. This service necessitates the constant employment of two men; consequently, the four are divided into two watches of two each. Each watch is on duty from eight A.M. until the same hour on the following day, and the two watches serve in regular rotation. During their hours of duty they remove to the hospital all cases ordered to be sent by the Inspectors of Contagious Diseases under the rules of the Board of Health. Two ambulances, two coupés, and four horses are used in this service. After the removal of the case disinfection is performed of the room from which the case was removed by one of the men effecting the removal. Immediately after leaving each case at the hospital, the ambulance man disinfects his vehicle and leaves the bedding and blankets used in it at the disinfecting station, replacing them with a set that have been previously disinfected.

Work of the Veterinarian.

The Veterinarian visits the slaughter-houses of the city daily, except Sundays and holidays, and inspects many animals before and after they are killed. He has also to inspect the stock-yards and the animals contained in them. The object of the work is to prevent the consumption of meat from animals that are sick at the time of slaughtering.

A section of the Sanitary Code compels persons who are called to treat cases of glanders or farcy to report them to the Health Department. A number of such reports were received during the year, and referred to the Veterinarian, who caused the destruction of fifty-nine horses afflicted with glanders, and the disinfection of the premises in which they were at the time of the disease.

Contagious Diseases Reported and Referred to the Medical Sanitary Inspectors during the Year 1890.

	Cases.
Typhus fever	4
Typhoid fever	1,100
Scarlet fever	3,087
Measles	9,544
Diphtheria	4,350
Spinal meningitis	133
Small-pox (contracted out of city)	5
Varicella	253
Leprosy	4
Total	18,477

Diseases Other than the above Referred to Inspectors.

Phthisis	3,144
Tubercular meningitis	270
Croup	254
Malarial fever	77
Dysentery	61
Tabes Mesenterica	12
Total	3,818

Work Performed by the Disinfecting Corps.

Total number of visits to infected houses for purposes of disinfection and fumigation	22,778
Total number of rooms fumigated after occurrence in them of contagious diseases	20,055
Total number of infected and contagious rooms for which disinfectants have been distributed by disinfectors	64,360
Total number of persons sick with contagious diseases removed to the hospitals of the Department	751

Sanitary Inspection.

The several sections of the Sanitary Code are enforced by general orders of the Board, or in extreme cases by peremptory orders of the Sanitary Superintendent or his assistant, or by arrest through the medium of the Sanitary Police. For the purpose of special sanitary inspection the city is divided into twenty-five districts, one Inspector being detailed for work in each district. His duty consists in the investigation and the making of reports and recommendations to the Board, on citizens' complaints referred to him, and the frequent inspection and report upon special places which are likely to become dangerous to life or detrimental to health. Each Inspector is required to be thoroughly familiar with his district, and, when time is afforded, to make a general inspection of it, also forwarding as before, complaints of any sanitary defect he may discover. He also attends to all matters relating to the Division of Plumbing and Ventilation that occur in his district. (See Plumbing and Ventilation.) He is also required to reinspect premises upon which orders and requirements are made, to see that the same have been complied with. During 1890 the number of inspections and reinspections made by the Sanitary Inspectors was 39,202, resulting in 9,536 complaints and orders for the abatement of nuisances.

Tenement-house Inspection.

A tenement-house, under the statute, includes every building or portion thereof which is rented, leased, let, or hired out, to be occupied as a home or residence of three or more families, living in-

dependently and doing their cooking upon the premises, or by more than two families upon any floor so living and cooking, but having a common right in the halls, stairways, yards, water-closets, or some of them. Under the provisions of Chapter 84 and 288 of the Act of 1887, it became the duty of the Board of Health to inspect semi-annually all of this class of houses; and, for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of these acts and the several sections of the Sanitary Code in relation thereto, the Board of Police have detailed to the service of the Board of Health one sergeant, one roundsman, and forty-three policemen (men of long experience in the Police Force of New York), who are known as the Sanitary Company of Police. For the purpose of this inspection the city is divided into thirty-one districts, and a Sanitary Policeman assigned to each, who is directed to make an inspection of each of the tenement-houses within his district at least twice in each year, the first inspection commencing in the early part of January and the second in August. Each officer is furnished with a memorandum book in which to enter the street and number of each house, date of inspection, and whether or not any cause for complaint was found. He is also instructed to secure, by personal direction, the abatement of all minor nuisances he may discover. Upon the event of failing to do so, he is to make a written complaint of the same, which is forwarded to the Board for an order. If the subject-matter indicates that he does not possess the technical knowledge to comprehend a nuisance existing or the remedy for it, then the report is referred to a Sanitary Inspector, who makes an investigation and returns a complaint, upon which an order is issued by the Board.

Plumbing and Ventilation.

This division is charged with the inspection of the plumbing and drainage of all new and reconstructed buildings, and of the light and ventilation of tenement-houses. For the purpose of inspection the city is divided into twenty-five districts (as mentioned), one Inspector being assigned to each district. Under the provisions of Chapter 908 of the Laws of 1867 as amended in 1879 and 1887, no tenement-house can be erected in New York until the plans for light and ventilation have been approved of by the Board of Health, nor can the plumbing and drainage (see Chapter 450, Act of 1881) of any building in the city be executed until the plans

have had the approval of this Department. The duty of the Inspectors of this division is to carefully inspect, from time to time during its progress, each building in his district, and see that the work is being executed according to the plans and specifications approved of by the Department, and also to attend to the special sanitary work of the district. This constant and careful supervision by the Inspectors of this division, in respect to light and ventilation of tenement-houses and the plumbing and drainage of all new buildings, has insured improved conditions, conducive to the health and comfort of the people. During the past year the work performed by these Inspectors was as follows: —

Inspections under plumbing law	45,195
Inspections under tenement-house law (light and ventilation)	12,613
Inspections of lodging-houses (for permits)	97
Inspections and reinspections on citizens' complaints	371

Food and Offensive Trade Inspections and Chemical Analysis.

This division is in charge of the Chief Chemist and Assistant Chemists, and makes the inspection of milk, fish, fruit, and other food supplies in this city, does the analytical work of the Department, and the inspection of offensive trades. For this purpose there are three Chemists, seven milk, four meat, two fruit, one fish Inspector, and two Inspectors of Offensive Trades employed.

Milk Inspection.

There is no article of food upon which human life is more dependent than upon milk, and consequently a careful inspection is important, even necessary. For milk inspection the city is divided into seven districts, to each of which one Inspector and one Sanitary Officer are assigned, whose duty it is to make weekly inspections of each store in their district where milk is sold (about 5,000 stores in the city), and also to make early morning inspections from time to time at the several ferries and depots where milk is received. Permits for the keeping of milch cows within the city limits are only issued when the premises occupied for this purpose are reported upon inspection to be properly drained and cared for, and so situated as to be inoffensive to the public. During the year all cows have been inspected as to their health and physical condition, for the purpose of preventing the sale of milk from diseased animals, so far as the jurisdiction of this Board

extends. In the past year an improvement is noticed in the quality of the milk sold and used in this city, which is due in a large measure to the constant inspections and the prompt punishment by the courts of violators of the provisions of the Sanitary Code in respect to this subject. During the year 58,721 inspections have been made, and 97,040 specimens of milk tested, resulting in the arrest of 299 dealers for violation of the sanitary ordinances relating to adulteration.

Of these there were tried and convicted	244
Of these there were discharged	14
Of these there are cases pending	41
In all	299
The fines imposed upon those convicted amounting in all to the sum of	$7,400,00

Meat, Fish, Fruit, and Food Inspection.

During the past year the Department has endeavored, as far as lay in its power, to watch over the food supply of this city, daily inspections being made in the markets, commission houses, and stores where meat, fish, fruit, vegetables, and other food supplies are offered for sale to ascertain the condition thereof. On account of the limited facilities at its disposal, much food that was unfit for use, no doubt, found its way into consumption; but, as an evidence of the great good accomplished by the Department, we desire to call attention to the following statement of the amount of work of the several Inspectors charged with the inspection of meat, fish, fruit, and food, and the result thereof: —

Number of inspections of meat and fish	66,309
Number of inspections of fruit and food	35,888
Number of pounds of meat and fish condemned, and seized and sent to the offal dock	1,200,341
Number of pounds of fruit and food condemned, seized, and sent to the offal dock	1,056,076

Offensive Trades.

Inspectors of Offensive Trades are charged with the daily inspection of slaughter-houses and gas-houses, and the semi-weekly inspection of rendering and fertilizing manufactories. All citizens' complaints in connection with nuisances arising from offensive trades are investigated at once, and frequent inspections have been made of manufacturing establishments likely to become nuisances; and, whenever necessary, changes have been made in the manner of conducting business. During the year 22,200 inspections were made, resulting in 1,382 complaints, 4 arrests and convictions.

Hospitals.

The Department has three hospitals: one known as the Willard Parker Hospital, located in Sixteenth Street, near East River, at a goodly distance from any human habitation; another, the Reception Hospital, located on the same street, still nearer to the river; and, third, the Riverside Hospital and other pavilion hospitals, located at North Brother Island, at least six miles from Sixteenth Street, and about half a mile from any habitable dwelling in its vicinity.

The Willard Parker Hospital is complete in all its appointments, and accommodates 70 to 80 patients. It is at present devoted to the treatment of scarlatina and diphtheria, the diphtheria patients being children only, whose mothers are frequently allowed to accompany them, provided they will remain in the hospital until the patient recovers, and also provided that they will comply with the rules and regulations of the hospital, and do what they may be able to do toward assisting the attendants of the hospital in duties connected with the care of patients. The wards of this hospital devoted to scarlatina and diphtheria are entirely disconnected, and the attendants have nothing to do with patients other than those to whom they are specially assigned. No contagious disease, as a result of inter-communication, has occurred in this hospital within the last three years. The friends of the patients who are in the hospital are permitted to visit the hospital once each week, remaining half an hour, provided, of course, that they change their apparel and take such other steps as are deemed advisable to prevent the spread of contagion. This permission is not esteemed a good sanitary policy, but rather a policy of conciliation, which privilege will, no doubt, erelong be still further lessened, if not removed entirely. It has not yet come to the knowledge of the Department that any person having visited the patients of this hospital, or any other hospital of this Department, has propagated contagious disease by such act.

It is proper to state in this connection, to show the interest which the profession at large take in the treatment of contagious diseases by the Health Department, that men of such prominence as Dr. Jacobi, Dr. Janeway, Dr. D. M. Stimson, Dr. O'Dwyer, and Dr. Shrady constituted themselves a Consulting Board, at the request of the Commissioners of the Health Department. This Board have substantial charge of the medical policy of the hos-

pital. Such an act on their part could but arouse public confidence in the hospital itself, as well as in the good intentions of the Health Department regarding the treatment of contagious disease. It is, likewise, proper to add that, with the view of better education of nurses in the treatment of contagious disease, the Mount Sinai Training School has an arrangement with the Willard Parker Hospital whereby the Health Department affords opportunity for the pupils of the Mount Sinai Training School to have special instruction in treatment of contagious disease. The pupils, of course, give their services to the city, for no recompense other than board, washing, and lodging, during the period which they remain connected with the Willard Parker Hospital. The Willard Parker Hospital is under the immediate charge of a House Physician, who receives his directions as to treatment, etc., from the Consulting Board. The policy of the hospital, however, as to expenditures, is controlled by the Commissioners of the Health Department.

The Reception Hospital is what its name indicates. It is divided into several wards having no communication with each other, into which patients suffering from various varieties of suspected contagious disease are placed for observation. As soon as the diagnosis is established they are sent to their destination.

The Riverside Hospital on North Brother Island is devoted to small-pox. The five remaining pavilions are devoted to adult scarlatina, measles, chicken-pox, whooping-cough, typhus fever, etc. The institution on North Brother Island is presided over by a House Physician and Matron. The House Physician has entire control of the patients and the general executive work of the island. The Matron has control of the help and the general executive work relating to the house duties. The five pavilions before mentioned are separately heated, are about fifty feet apart, and are devoted to the treatment of contagious disease in accordance with the demands. This hospital, too, has visiting days, and strict regulations regarding the outside communication with patients,— for instance, such as a limitation of the time and change of apparel before going into the ward.

The Bureau of Records.

This is in charge of Roger S. Tracy, M.D., Register, and is intrusted with the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the granting of burial permits, the study of topographical causes of

disease and circumstances of unusual deaths, and incidentally the classification and filing of vital statistics.

The total number of employees and officers in the service of the Health Department is about two hundred. The annual expenditure is about $400,000.

Vacancies occurring in the various staffs must be filled from lists of names furnished by the Civil Service Commission.

In other words, a strict competitive examination must be passed by all applicants for the service.

Such is the Health Department of to-day.

3. THE TENEMENT-HOUSE: ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE CHILD.

BY MARY E. HERRICK, M.D., NEW YORK.

[Read Sept. 3, 1890.]

Imagine a house five or six stories high, upon each floor a front, a back, and four middle dark rooms, divided into two apartments, each apartment consisting of two or three dark rooms and one light room. Imagine each dark room filled up with a large bedstead, holding a dirty mattress or a feather bed, and an assortment of bed-covering seldom or never cleansed. In the narrow space between the bed and the wall will hang the family clothing, more or less soiled and odorous. Imagine in the light room the cook-stove, the sewing-machine, and various other articles of furniture. Imagine this, further, the kitchen, dining, sitting, and work room of the family, consisting on an average of five persons, part of whom are accommodated here by a bed on the floor during the night. Add to this the sounds which proceed from the neighboring adjacent tenements, the sights and sounds from neighboring opposite tenements, the atmosphere of a dirty, crowded street or of a badly kept yard, and you may have a faint idea of a tenement-house. But even this will hardly be enough. You should imagine the even more crowded quarters, where six or eight "boarders" are added to the ordinary household, sleeping on the floor of the living-room. You should imagine the crawling vermin, the stifling atmosphere. You should imagine double houses of the same general description, but accommodating four or even six families upon each floor. You should imagine rows and streets of such houses, the yard space in many instances occupied by a second house, the duplicate of the first. Imagine the street itself, with its decayed garbage, unemptied ash-barrels, and unswept walks. Imagine the courts and yards into which the rear houses open, the choked and overflowing closets, the decaying refuse and the stench of it all,—and you will begin to have some idea of tenement-house life, the peculiar phases of which are probably nowhere better shown than in New York City. It is said that the region east of the Bowery,

between Houston and Chatham Streets, is the most densely populated in the world, not excluding China with its crowded cities. Legislation has done but very little for us toward the solution of this problem. There are still many houses with four families on a floor, and but one water-closet, which these four families must all use. The tank is always too small, and the odor is upon hot days unbearable. The building of rear tenements is forbidden, but the lodging nuisance is unabated, the laws which govern lodging-houses not being capable of enforcement in the case of tenements, even where there are a number of lodgers in each.

During the past two months I visited 8,563 families, the district extending between Grand, Division, Jefferson Streets and the river. All the older houses in this district are without air-shafts, and one of the *dark* rooms is used as the kitchen. The air is always heavy with sewer gas, cooking smells, and the odors from soiled clothes and from the kerosene lamp, which must burn all day to furnish the light necessary.

I will relate to you some of the conditions which I found upon what might perhaps be called a *typical* day.

House in Cherry Street, Family upon the Top Floor. — The father is a drinking man, and has not supported his family for two years. The mother has finally abandoned him, and is trying to keep together her five children. One of fourteen works with her in a shirt factory. A girl of twelve does all of the housework, while one of ten looks after a boy of four and one of two and a half. How well she does it was shown last week, when the baby was brought in with a broken arm. He had been climbing up on an ice-cart; and, as the wheel went around, he went with it. The shouts of the children stopped the cart before it had gone over his body.

Another House in Cherry Street, Top Floor, Rear.— Family consists of man, wife, and two children. The father fell through a hatchway six weeks ago, and was taken to Chambers Street hospital. The excitement and grief brought on premature labor in the mother, and the worry prevented any secretion of milk. Both she and the baby are very weak. The second child suffers from rickets, and is unable to walk. The few dollars they had when the husband was hurt (less than $20) have done little else than pay rent. A sister helped them somewhat, but mainly their living has been furnished through the charity of their neighbors.

Still another family in this row consists of two widows, one with twins five weeks old, the other with four children, the youngest five

months. One woman sews at home or goes out. The other washes, each in turn taking care of the other's children. Frequently they do not have enough to eat. The two families have two rooms and one bed in common. The older children sleep on a "comfortable" thrown on the floor.

Cherry Street furnishes another home in which is a family of Polish Jews, the baby with cholera infantum. The child's temperature was 103.8, and he was lying in a rocking-chair not three feet from a hot fire. The back of the stuffed chair was next to the fire, and so served as a screen. Oftener I find the baby with nothing to shield him. This hot fire is almost always found either for cooking or washing. It is as common to see the wash-tub filled with clothes as to see any other article of furniture. The poor have so few clothes that these must be constantly passed through the tub.

In the rear of this house on a porch were two boys asleep. They had one pillow in common and one comfortable, half of which served as a mattress and the other half as a cover. The mother said that during the hot weather they had slept every night upon this porch. The parents and other children stepped over the sleeping boys rather than disturb them. In the back of the yard was a horse stable, and two goats. These goats often came up to the outside boy, and would lick his face. He would throw his hand or the cover over his face or turn over to get rid of his visitor, and sleep on.

Still farther up the street a girl of thirteen stood at the door, with a baby of two months in her arms. The baby was teething. I saw that he was chewing some queer-looking thing, and upon closer examination found that it was a Bologna sausage. The girl had taken the child to the store, when she had gone to buy the dinner. He had seen the sausage, and had cried until she had bought it for him. The mother knew about it, and had offered no objection. In fact, I found mothers giving babies of five and six months all sorts of stuff to eat, even when their breast milk is plenty. "It doesn't hurt him," the mother will say. When I ask about the baby's bowels, she will reply, "He has diarrhœa, but it is from his teeth." I hear this remark constantly. So common is the condition that they never mention the matter, and, upon questioning them, I often find that the baby has been suffering for weeks.

On Division Street in a basement was a little pine coffin for one

of twins which had just died. The other was in the cradle, cross and sick. The mother was running the sewing-machine to earn money to bury the dead child. Every few minutes she would take one foot from the treadle without stopping the machine to rock the cradle. The father is out of work.

The noise in many of the localities is deafening. In the rear of a certain part of Cherry Street there are tailor shops, with machines running all day. The doors are open for air, and the noise is incessant. Then in the front is the noise from the street, so that I had almost to shout in order to make the people hear. In two rear apartments thrown into one there were twenty-three men, three women, and one girl of fifteen years, working.

In the Italian districts I found the most cholera infantum,—so many of the fathers keep fruit-stands and give their children green or rotten fruit. I might continue this story to a considerable length, as I have visited as many as two hundred and thirty-two families in one day; but the continuation would be a mere repetition. The children see nothing to encourage them in cleanliness, order, or thrift. There is a total absence of standards. The houses are dirty, the table is always standing, the bread and butter, etc., remaining on from one meal to another, with often the dirty dishes. There is never a table-cloth, of course. Yet the children are not so very unhappy. They have their games and various forms of amusement.

On Monroe Street, in the back yard, where there was a hydrant, five boys, their ages ranging between nine and fourteen years, were having a "swim." They had filled a wash-tub brimful of water, and would then jump in and sit down rapidly, making a great splashing with their hands for waves. Occasionally they would "dive." This consisted in kneeling on the ground near the tub and dipping the head into the tub.

I came across many children at work. On Monroe Street two girls of thirteen and fourteen years were running sewing-machines. All summer long they have worked from 6 A.M. until 7 P.M. A girl of thirteen was washing. The chair being too high, the tub was on the floor and the girl was kneeling at her work. This is the common position for children at the tub. On Water Street I found a boy of eleven years, who takes the entire charge of his brother Willie, two years old. The mother died five months ago. The father is a 'longshore-man. He cooks in the morning and evening. I have twice this summer sent Johnnie and his baby on

the St. John's Guild Excursions. He takes excellent care of his brother, and, even when the latter was sick a few weeks ago, gave him his medicine and prepared his food according to directions, and could tell me about the bodily condition of the baby better than many mothers. On Division Street a girl of seven years was sewing on pantaloons. On Washington Street I found a sick woman who is entirely supported by four newsboys.

The bravery of these little workers has been often commented upon. There is no great discontent among them. They know nothing better, and consequently they work when they must and play when they can with more or less cheerfulness. The exuberant vitality of childhood overleaps even the bounds prescribed by the tenement-house, and finds amusement even in the most unfortunate surroundings. To the cursory glance there is no marked deterioration of bodily health among the growing children. This may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the weak are very early lost from their number. The great mortality among the babies of the tenement-house is familiar to you,— 65 per cent. of all children die before reaching their fifth year. Before the tenth year, therefore, the child has either succumbed to his environment or he has proved his ability, physically, to cope with the evils of his surroundings. It is not, therefore, the effect of the tenement-house upon the health of the child, but rather its effect upon his mental and moral constitution which has most impressed me.

In the tenement-house evil the moral factor largely predominates. Pitiable as is the condition of the tenement-house baby, sad as is the stunted intellect of the overworked children prematurely forced into the treadmill of life, sadder still is the absence of moral restraint, the total lack of knowledge of the true, the good, and the beautiful in the child of the tenement-house. We may lighten this condition by our working-girls' clubs, by our Young Men's Christian Association, perhaps; but we must not forget that the fundamental element in its production is the tenement-house itself, with its herding of human beings and its lack of opportunity for individual privacy.

Father Huntington remarks upon this phase of the tenement-house question as follows: —

"It is only by an effort quite beyond the powers of many people that grown men and women can resist the lowering influences about them. What, then, must be the lot of the children? They

must not only hear all the older people hear and see all that they see, at an age when every such sight and sound leaves its impression, but they are practically forced into acquaintanceship with the other dwellers which their elders can avoid. Wherever they play, they are without any real oversight. Think what possibilities of moral contagion lie in such associations. The effect of vicious actions is far worse in the crowded tenement, where every sound is heard in adjoining rooms, than in an ordinary dwelling. The example of vice and brutality is demoralizing and contagious where it cannot be hidden. Familiarity breeds indifference; and men, women, and children become hardened by contact with vice."

The tenement-house child is astonishingly precocious. Dr. Daniel, physician to the outdoor department of the New York Infirmary, says, "I have babies of from six to twenty-four months brought to me daily by boys and girls of from eight to nine years, who answer my questions as well as the mother could." Obscene writing prevails in the halls of the tenement-house. The landlords say there is no use in erasing it: the boys will write it again. We might refer to many cases like the following: that of a girl of fifteen years, still in short dresses, but about to become a mother. The utmost respectability characterized the family, which consisted of a widow, this daughter, and a young boy. The rooms, bedding, clothing, everything was scrupulously clean. Said the doctor to the poor woman: "Surely, you must be to blame. Had you looked after your daughter properly, this would never have happened." Her sorrowful reply was, "You know we live in a tenement-house." That was enough.

Mr. Wingate says the number of bad tenements has not decreased. The tenement system itself is only more fully recognized as replete with evil. The crowding of the old and young, the strong and weak, the decent and the vile under the same roof, still goes on unchecked and unheeded.

In the opinion of many it is useless to legislate against the tenement-house until we are ready with a substitute to take its place. Some years ago a prize was offered for a design for a model tenement-house, to be built upon the ordinary city lot. Although competition furnished a number of designs, no prize was awarded, the committee declaring that, in their opinion, it was impossible to secure the requirements of moral and physical health within these limits. To obtain any satisfactory improvement, it has been found necessary to have more ground space, with a correspondingly large

building. Brooklyn has a number of model tenements of this description, the property of Alfred T. White. New York has a small number of similar "model" tenements.

The largest, and the first to be constructed, is upon First Avenue, between 71st and 72d Streets. The building consists of three blocks of houses, six stories high, covering two hundred square feet, having four houses each upon 71st and 72d Streets and five houses upon the Avenue. These houses surround a court, which is also open upon both sides to the streets. All of the rooms have windows either upon the street or into this court. There are no air-shafts or middle rooms. Most of the apartments consist of three rooms, some of two, and a still smaller number of four rooms. In the larger apartments there are two good closets in the living-room and one in the bedroom. Off the living-room there is a wash-room with a stationary tub, wash-sink, and ash-chute. Still beyond is the water-closet. The building is fire-proof, with brick walls and stone stairs. It is provided with a day watchman, a night watchman, an engineer, and five housekeepers. The court is swept daily by the day watchman. Children are allowed to play in it all day. There is a library, smoking and reading room. The rents vary between $6.75 and $14 a month.

A second "model" tenement, the Cutting Building, is found at the corner of Avenue C and 14th Street. This also consists of three extensions built around a court. It does not, however, occupy the whole width of the block, as does the last building described. Consequently, while eminently satisfactory thus far, it is even now in danger of loss of light and air from the filling up of the adjacent lots with compactly built tenements.

A third "model" house is found at 207 and 209 West 41st Street. Here we have four extensions built about a central court. All of the rooms open into the air; but, the space being smaller, the court-yard is small and the rooms correspondingly dark. Children are not allowed to play in the court, and families having more than three or four children are not admitted. As a rule, people with large families cannot secure rooms in these "model" houses, even if so inclined.

In addition to these "model" tenements we have quite a number of "improved" tenements. These are altered houses or new houses built upon one lot, and somewhat like the old in plan. A number of houses have been altered upon Water Street by a lady who owns three and sublets two others, assuming all responsibility

for them. She has thrown all the yards into one, and has cut off a back room from each house so as to admit air to the halls. She holds that, if the halls and stairs are light, the dirt will show, and consequently they will be kept cleaner. In the yard are two large flower-plots, all of the plants having been furnished by the tenants.

Mrs. Miles, formerly of the City Mission, has done excellent work in reforming a number of tenement houses, herself taking charge, collecting the rent, and attending to the details of the housekeeping. Miss Dow, also formerly of the City Mission, is now doing similar work upon Mulberry Street.

Among the "improved" tenements might be classed the houses built by Professor Adler's Society. These are upon Cherry Street. They accommodate six families upon a floor, the middle rooms having windows into a very large air-shaft. These buildings are fireproof, there is a water-closet for every two families, gas in the halls and rooms, and stationary tubs. Only "nice" families, however, are admitted; and for the children of the occupants there is a kindergarten. Families with a large number of children cannot be received. There are upon the corner of Montgomery and Monroe Streets two "improved" tenements, having very large air-shafts. In fact, the list of improved tenements might be indefinitely lengthened, the majority of the new buildings tending to be of this pattern. In general terms, it can be said that we are not standing still in this matter of tenement-house reform. Sad as is the present picture, things are much better in the tenement-house districts than was the case ten years ago. The Board of Health has done much to improve the condition by its system of visitation, its forms of printed regulations, and more or less compulsory rules. The main difficulty lies in the fact that many of the improvements are not radical enough, and will not be until it is recognized that individual privacy is the essential element to be sought in all reform. Even in the new houses one room opens out of another, or many rooms open into a confined space (air-shaft), so that neither family nor individual privacy is possible. In our own opinion, the larger houses better fill the conditions which we seek; namely, the combination of decency and comfort with the price which the tenement-house occupant can pay.

It is not generally known, perhaps, that greatly improved accommodations can be given for the usual rent, and yet a good return for the money invested be assured. Mulberry Street rents one room and a dark closet for $8 a month. 54 and 56 Mulberry

bring in $200 a month on a property assessed at $9,500. The ordinary tenement-house pays a higher profit than any other dwellings, even in the most desirable parts of the city. In the improved tenements on Mulberry Street the rents average $4 a month for each room. This house pays 15 per cent. on the capital invested, while the rookeries next door pay twice as much. The Water Street houses, to which reference has been made, rent two-room apartments as low as $3 a month, and three rooms for $4.50 and $5.50; yet this property pays 6 per cent. net, and of the total annual rental only $250 was lost last year. The improved tenements at 36 and 38 Cherry Street rent apartments at from $3 to $8 a month, and yet pay 6½ per cent. on the investment. The houses on 71st Street and 1st Avenue furnish a 5 per cent. yearly dividend, besides $1,000 a year put away as a sinking fund.

This work can be extended indefinitely if capitalists will build new houses or renovate the old ones, and put in charge of them competent, conscientious persons, who will see that the houses do not degenerate. Constant intelligent supervision is needed, besides the mere investment in bricks and mortar and good sewer pipes.

The exclusion of large families from the improved tenements has not perhaps received the attention which it deserves. You perhaps are all familiar with the story of the little girl who, when asked how she came to live in a flat, replied, "I was borned in." Apparently, children must be "borned in," to assure themselves a respectable foothold in New York. It is very difficult for people of moderate means to secure anywhere comfortable quarters for a family already partly grown. This seems peculiarly unfortunate, for in the majority of instances environment is a more potent factor in development than heredity. Thus inferior or defective surroundings destroy virtue that is already in the world, and become powerful sources of crime. An improvement in tenement-houses means an improvement in morals, and as such becomes at once a personal matter to all interested in human welfare.

4. THE PROGRESS OF THE FINANCIAL CREDIT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1861–1890.

BY JOSEPH T. BROWN, OF NEW YORK.

[Read September, 1890.]

The Chairman of your Committee on Finance has kindly suggested that a paper upon the war and funding loans of the national government, based somewhat on personal recollections, might be of interest at your present session; and, in compliance with his request, I have selected as a topic the progress of the financial credit of the government of the United States since 1861.

In considering a subject so extensive within the proper limits of such a paper, it is impossible to enter largely into details or into the discussion of financial or economic principles; and I shall therefore endeavor to confine myself to a narrative of facts rather than to present elaborate statistics by which such facts might be sustained.

The history of the credit of the government during the period named is a record of experiment in the absence of precedent; of financial measures of great magnitude hastily devised to meet imperative and unforeseen contingencies; of many mistakes, but more successes; of patient and patriotic endurance by our citizens, sustained by unchanging confidence in the integrity of the Union and the faithful performance of its financial pledges; of taxation oppressive and unfamiliar, levied in almost every form ingenuity could suggest; and of the wonderfully productive and recuperative character of our internal resources.

President Johnson, in his first message to Congress at the close of the war, in discussing the public finances, says,—

> I have faith . . . that, as we have amazed the world by the suppression of a civil war which was thought to be beyond the control of any government, so we shall equally show the superiority of our institutions by the prompt and faithful discharge of our national obligations.

How literally and fully this prophecy has been fulfilled it is my desire to show.

The administration of President Buchanan appears to have been as unfortunate in its financial as in its political record. Launched into existence during the panic of 1857 and clouded by the gathering storm of disunion which burst into the actual strife of rebellion before its close, the national debt was more than quadrupled during his four years of office. On Jan. 11, 1861, when General John A. Dix was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, the department was found to be practically bankrupt, with unpaid obligations for salaries, treasury notes, etc., aggregating $2,355,896, for the settlement of which the creditors were clamorous. The last effort of his immediate predecessor to relieve the embarrassed condition of the Treasury was the offer for public subscription, on Dec. 18, 1860, of $5,000,000 one year Treasury notes. Only $1,831,000 were subscribed at twelve per cent. interest or less, and proposals were tendered for the exchange of $465,000, maturing notes, for those of the new issue, bearing interest from fifteen to thirty-five per cent. These latter offers were rejected; and, to save a default in the interest upon the public debt, due Jan. 1, 1861, the banks of New York subscribed for the remainder of the $5,000,000, at twelve per cent. interest. On Jan. 19, 1861, Secretary Dix received offers for the remainder of these Treasury notes, authorized by the act of Dec. 17, 1860; and they were taken at an average of 10⅝ per cent. interest.

The only other available source of extra revenue then at the disposal of the Secretary was the balance $13,978,000 of the loan of $21,000,000 authorized by the act of June 22, 1860, of which Secretary Cobb had been able to place only $7,022,000, and which in the disturbed condition of the country it was impossible to negotiate.

The customs revenue, which had been estimated to yield $15,000,000 for the quarter ending Dec. 31, 1860, fell below $8,000,000, owing to the intense excitement prevailing in both mercantile and political circles; and during the month of December, at the port of New York alone, $6,000,000 of merchandise was warehoused, in the absence of purchasers, and nothing realized thereon to the Treasury. In this emergency, Secretary Dix called attention, as probably the only means of securing prompt relief to the embarrassed Treasury, to the $28,000,000 surplus revenue which had been deposited with twenty-six of the States

under the acts of 1836 and 1837,—suggesting that, should an exigency arise involving public honor or safety, the greater part of this amount would be cheerfully repaid by the States, or that, instead of calling for a return of the deposits, they might in some manner be hypothecated as additional security for a loan to be issued upon the faith of the United States.

It will be seen from the foregoing that we have an easy point from which to measure our consideration of the advance of the national credit. The financial thermometer stood practically at zero. The Treasury was absolutely bankrupt; and, if any borrowing capacity existed at all, which is questionable, it could not be measured by a lower rate of interest than 12 per cent. gold,—a rate which neither individual nor government could afford to pay for any length of time without financial ruin.

Such, then, was the condition of our public finances on the eve of a war unequalled in magnitude, in the prosecution of which the daily expenses were to reach the enormous sum of $3,000,000, and the national debt was to increase from $87,718,660 to $2,756,431,571.

On Feb. 1, 1861, it was apparent that there would be a deficiency in the Treasury of about $25,000,000, to provide for which the act of Feb. 8, 1861, was passed, authorizing a loan of $25,000,000 at 6 per cent., which became known as the first series of "sixes of 1881." The Secretary was able to effect an immediate issue of $18,405,000 of these bonds, at an average rate of 83.03. On April 2, 1861, the remainder of the issue was offered, and bids from 94 to par were accepted for $3,099,000. The balance was sold on May 31, after the opening of the war, at an average of 85.34. Less than a month thereafter, on March 2, 1861, a further act was passed, authorizing $10,000,000 6 per cent. Treasury notes. Some of these notes were issued payable sixty days from date, and the remainder two years from date.

The expected outbreak of war was inaugurated by the attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, and its surrender on April 14. The following day President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service, and also issued a call for a special session of Congress, to assemble July 4, 1861. The two year Treasury notes were selling at 2¼ per cent. discount, or at a rate yielding over 7 per cent. per annum interest; and the Treasury, unable to dispose of further amounts, was compelled to borrow, for sixty days, upon the hypothecation of these notes as collateral security.

Upon the assembling of Congress, the financial requirements of the government demanded immediate attention; and Secretary Chase submitted his first report, estimating the total requirements for the year at not less than $318,000,000. Among other suggestions, he proposed a loan for three years upon Treasury notes bearing $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. interest, which rate the Secretary designated as "liberal and convenient, and, under existing circumstances, fair and equitable to the government."

The acts of July 17 and Aug. 5, 1861, based upon the suggestions of the Secretary, authorized the issue of $250,000,000 in twenty year bonds at a rate of interest not exceeding 7 per cent., or in Treasury notes at $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. interest for three years, and also $50,000,000 in demand notes, receivable for public dues, but bearing no interest. At first these demand notes were discredited, and received with great reluctance by tradespeople and others, some of the New York banks declining to accept them except as a special deposit payable in kind. The Secretary of the Treasury and other public officers subscribed a circular agreeing to receive them in payment of their salaries; and General Scott deemed it wise to issue a circular to the army, commending them as "good as gold, and convenient for transmission." The notes, however, steadily gained in currency, and after the suspension of specie payments were eagerly sought at a trifle below the premium on gold, as they were available for payment of customs duties.

What may be designated as the first war loan — namely, the first series of seven-thirty notes — was issued under the provisions of these acts. Being authorized and issued before the suspension of specie payments, the interest upon them was construed to be payable in gold, and was so paid. The greater part of the issue was negotiated through the New York banks, two series of $50,000,000 each being placed by them during the year 1861. Regarding these negotiations by the banks, I quote from the report of the Loan Committee of the Associated Banks, presented June 12, 1862: —

The credit of the government had become impaired to such a degree that a large loancould not be obtained in any ordinary way, nor even a temporary loan, except for a very short period at a high rate of interest. Men's hearts failed them. The rebellion was on so large a scale, and had so unexpectedly broken out and raged with such fury, that to subdue it seemed to most persons impossible. Then it was, after careful deliberation and consultation with the Secretary, that the banks decided it to be wise for them

to depart from their usual legitimate business, and sustain the government credit, and stand or fall with it. This act restored the public confidence, and was the highest indorsement of the public credit that could then have been given.

This patriotic action of the New York banks, made without expectation or hope of profit, although small in comparison with some later transactions, was probably the most important negotiation of the war. It is not rash to assume that, but for the timely and courageous support of those representing the aggregated capital of the nation, the Treasury would have been bankrupt beyond recovery and the struggle for the restoration of the Union a failure. As the first gun upon Sumter was the signal for the uprising of men to offer their bodies for the defence of their country, so this action by leaders in finance found a hearty response in the pockets of the people; and though, thereafter, the negotiation of public loans might at times be tardy, there was really no period during the rebellion when the preservation of the Union was again imperilled by the want of means necessary for the conduct of the war in its defence.

These seven-thirty notes were convertible into the "sixes of 1881," authorized by the same acts, and, with the exception of $63,500, redeemed in money, the entire issue was so converted, and disappeared from the debt statement in the latter part of 1864.

In December, 1861, a new complication arose from the suspension of specie payments; and by reason of this new element of calculation it is impossible, without more elaborate tabulation than our limits permit, to show the rapidly fluctuating market quotations of government securities during the dark days of 1862–1864.

A victory or a defeat, a corner or combination in the money markets, caused violent fluctuations of the gold premium, which can hardly be taken as a fair measure of credit.

It may, however, be stated here that, figured upon a gold basis, and including the non-interest portion of the greatly increased debt, the rate of average interest during 1863 was only 3.89 per cent., and that at the close of the war the average interest upon the entire debt was actually less than at the commencement, being only about 5.55 per cent.

The act approved Feb. 25, 1862, was doubtless the most radical and far-reaching of all financial legislation of the war period, and the subsequent loan measures adopted by Congress

during the war were practically but amendments or modifications of this act.

The new law was important in three particulars: —

1. In providing for the gradual extinction of the national debt by the operation of a sinking fund.

2. In authorizing the issue of a new and popular form of security, known as the five-twenties of 1862.

3. In authorizing the issue of $150,000,000 United States notes, which by their terms were made a legal tender for all debts public or private, except duties on imports, thus, for the first time in the history of the nation, making other than gold and silver a legal tender for the payment of debts.

No financial measure in the history of the war provoked such earnest discussion as this legal tender provision. Few of its advocates attempted to defend it except upon the plea of urgent necessity. Its opponents argued that means could be otherwise provided, and that the measure was alike discreditable and dangerous. Both regarded it as a temporary expedient, and looked to the retirement of the notes as soon as the pressing reasons for their existence should have passed.

Whether the emergencies could have been met without resort to so dangerous an expedient will not be discussed in a paper intended to be a record of facts, and not of opinions; but it is doubtless a fact that, had it not been for the creation of a depreciated and dishonored currency, bearing upon its face the false statement that it was good money, or had such notes been promptly paid or converted into funded debt, as was contemplated by the act under which they were issued, the progress of the credit of the government would have been much more rapid, and its consideration a much simpler problem.

Further emissions of legal tender notes were legalized by the acts of June 11, 1862, and March 3, 1863, and the highest amount reached at any time was about $450,000,000. Having tasted the forbidden fruit of printing paper and calling it money, we are to be congratulated that the authorizing powers found even this limit at which to stop.

In illustration of the views regarding the redemption of legal tenders by those who sanctioned their issue, it may be mentioned that in 1865–66 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 144 to 6, cordially concurred in the views of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the necessity of contraction of the currency with a view to

early specie resumption; and by act of March 12, 1866, Congress directed the retirement of $10,000,000 legal tender notes within the next six months, and $4,000,000 per month thereafter. Under this act the amount was reduced to $356,000,000 by Dec. 31, 1867, when, in deference to certain public clamor, Congress prohibited further reductions.

We have not space to enter into the particulars of the various issues during the war, including the Five-twenties of 1862 and 1864, the Ten-forties, Temporary Loan Certificates, Compound Interest Notes, Fractional Currency, Seven-thirty Notes; nor of the organization of the National Banking system, which created a purchaser for $340,000,000 of national obligations, and furnished active agents for marketing the loans.

The lowest point to which the paper dollar declined was in July, 1864, when its value compared with coin was $0.387. From this time, with more or less fluctuation, its value enhanced until the approach of specie payments in 1879, when the premium upon gold entirely disappeared.

At the sudden termination of the war it became vitally important, as a measure of economy, that the army should be disbanded at the earliest possible moment. But this involved payment of the troops before they could be mustered out, transportation home, and other expenses. The Treasury was, as usual, empty, but there remained unissued under the act of March 3, 1865, some $530,000,000 seven-thirty notes. The Secretary decided to avail of the services of Mr. Jay Cooke, who had been eminently successful in placing former issues, as agent for their sale. No previous loan was so promptly subscribed by the people, now rejoicing in the assurance of peace; and before the 1st of August, 1865, the entire amount was taken. The requirements of the War Department were promptly met, and no soldier remained in the service a single day for want of means to pay him and send him home. A popular subscription of this character and amount by a people who had already, within four years, contributed from their resources over $2,000,000,000 to maintain the integrity of the Republic, was a tribute to the government unparalleled in history.

Shortly after the close of the war the funding and consolidation of the various public obligations commanded the consideration of the Secretary and Congress.

As early as April, 1866, a bill, which was finally defeated by amendments, was presented to the Senate, providing for a 5

per cent. funding loan. The interest-bearing debt then consisted of twenty-three distinct issues or maturities, a considerable portion of which was within control of the Department as regarded immediate payment, and upon more than $1,600,000,000 of which the government had options of payment maturing within two years.

At this time, however, the placing of a 5 per cent. loan for funding purposes seemed impracticable, as the 5 per cent. ten-forties were selling in the market at about 95 currency and the premium upon gold ruled at about 30 per cent.

In December, 1867, a second funding bill was passed, providing for a domestic loan at 5 per cent. and a foreign loan at 4½ per cent., which was finally disposed of by the pocket veto of President Johnson.

The Secretary, however, was able, under the provisions of the acts of March 3, 1865, and April 12, 1866, and from accumulating surplus revenue, to retire all of the short interest-bearing notes and to fund the three year seven-thirty notes into five-twenties of 1865, 1867, and 1868. Eliminating the small balances not presented for redemption, the number of issues was thus reduced from 23 to 10 (or 12, including two small *ante-bellum* loans still outstanding), all bearing 6 per cent. interest except the $13,000,000 Navy Pension Fund and about $200,000,000 of ten-forties and other 5 per cent. bonds.

About this date, say July, 1868, the 6 per cent. issues of the government were quoted in the market at 110 and 115, according to the length of issue, and gold ruled at about 40 per cent. premium.

On March 4, 1869, General Grant was inaugurated President, and the first bill approved by him, on March 18, was the measure known as the "Public Credit Act," which pledged the government to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all obligations, notes, and bonds except those stipulated by law to be payable in lawful money.

On July 14, 1870, a refunding act was finally passed, which was slightly modified by the act of Jan. 20, 1871. This measure authorized

$500,000,000 of 5 per cents. redeemable after 10 years,
300,000,000 of 4½ " " " 15 "
700,000,000 of 4 " " " 30 "

payable in coin, exempt from taxation, and to be issued without any increase of the public debt.

It also introduced a new feature by providing that the bonds first issued of each series should be the last redeemed.

It was early in 1871 that Secretary Boutwell, after mature consideration, determined to make an experiment in refunding by offering $200,000,000 of the fives for public subscription. The time selected was not in all respects favorable. The war-cloud still hanging over France and Germany, and the consequent disturbance of the money markets at home and abroad, proved a serious obstacle to success. The 5 per cent. ten-forties were selling in the market at from 2 to 3 per cent. below par in gold; while the 6 per cent. bonds ruled generally at a slight premium in gold, sufficient to prevent their voluntary conversion into the new issues. Notwithstanding these discouraging features, the Secretary was able gradually to place the entire amount, of which $117,518,000 was subscribed by the National Banks and home investors, and the remainder by a strong foreign combination.

It is worthy of note that this transaction first brought the name "syndicate" into popular use in our American financial vocabulary. It may also be of interest to give in this place a brief description of the methods adopted in refunding, by which the government received par and interest in gold for the new bonds without the withdrawal of actual coin from the banks, thus avoiding stringency and disturbance of the money markets, which would have rendered funding impracticable.

All the five-twenty acts provided that the bonds issued thereunder could only be called for payment upon three months' notice to the holders. The plan adopted by the contractors for the loan, which was subsequently opened to all National Banks, was to make payment to the Treasury by a certificate of deposit of a National Bank, stating that there had been deposited in such bank, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, an amount of gold equal to the subscription for bonds then made. The bonds so subscribed were for the time being retained by the Treasury as security for the deposit.

As they were required by the syndicate for delivery, they were taken up by the temporary deposit of other United States bonds or gold certificates. Simultaneously with each subscription a call was issued for the redemption of an equal amount of five-twenties, payable at the expiration of three months. These "called bonds" were purchased by the syndicate upon such terms as they could be secured, and gradually substituted for the temporary col lateral in the hands of the Treasurer of the United States.

At the maturity of the call the deposit in the National Banks was practically cancelled by the redemption, for account of the syndicate, of the called bonds so held in the Treasury. Any small balance, for which the syndicate had been unable to secure called bonds, was settled by payment in matured coupons, largely imported from Europe, in gold certificates, or the coin balance was allowed to remain on deposit in the banks until required for the redemption of the small remnants of called bonds, as they gradually found their way to the Treasury.

By this system only was it possible to successfully carry on the rapid funding of 1876–79, the subscriptions of which at times aggregated more than the entire supply of visible gold in the market; and the whole business was accomplished without the loss or even risk of a dollar to the Treasury.

An increase in the gold premium during 1872 and 1873, and the financial agitation consequent upon the panic of 1873, prevented material progress in funding; and it was not until 1874 that transactions in the 5 per cent. loan became again active.

They were further stimulated by the adoption on Jan. 14, 1875, of the act of Congress providing for the resumption of specie payments on Jan. 1, 1879. The centennial year of our independence was signalized not only by the successful completion of the $500,000,000 issue of fives, but in August, 1876, Secretary Morrill felt justified, in view of the improving financial condition of the country, and the quotation of the fives at 3 to 5 per cent. premium in gold, in offering the 4½ per cent. bonds provided by the refunding acts. A contract was concluded with a syndicate composed of some of the strongest firms in London and New York, by which the contractors agreed to purchase $40,000,000 of the 4½s at par and interest in gold, with an option at the same price of the remaining $260,000,000. This contract contained a provision that it might be terminated by the Secretary, upon ten days' notice, at any time after March 4, 1877. In May, 1877, the 4½ per cent. bonds had risen to a premium of about 2 per cent. gold; and Secretary Sherman, wisely availing himself of his privilege under the contract, notified the syndicate that he should withdraw from sale the remaining $100,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds, $200,000,000 having already been placed.

On June 9, 1877, Secretary Sherman executed a contract with substantially the same syndicate, under which the contractors subscribed for $25,000,000 firm of 4 per cent. consols at par and

interest, and received an option until June 30, 1878, for any portion of the remainder of the issue at the same price, the Secretary, however, reserving the right to terminate the contract, on ten days' notice, after Dec. 3, 1877.

In view of the now rapidly advancing prices of the former issues and the decline in the gold premium, which during the last six months of 1877 fell from 106½ to 102½, the Secretary insisted on the insertion in this contract of a provision requiring the syndicate to offer, for thirty days, registered bonds and $50 and $100 coupon bonds to the people of the United States at par and interest in coin. Under this provision $66,000,000 were taken by the American public and banks, while the London subscriptions during the same period aggregated only $10,000,000.

During the next few months the agitation of the silver question in Congress rendered sales impracticable; and on Jan. 14, 1878, the Secretary notified the syndicate of the termination of their contract, as the President desired to open public subscriptions in the United States for the 4 per cent. loan.

On Jan. 16, 1878, a circular was issued from the Department offering the bonds for public subscription, and on January 21 all National Banks were invited to become depositories, under the law, for the proceeds of bonds sold by them. The market for fours, however, continued to rule below par, and the sales under the Treasury circulars were insignificant.

It being deemed most important by President Hayes and Secretary Sherman that prompt provision should be made for the accumulation of sufficient gold coin before Jan. 1, 1879,— the date fixed for specie resumption,— to insure absolute success, with that view Mr. Sherman visited New York on April 9 and 10, 1878, and met by appointment the presidents of a number of representative National Banks and also the members of the old syndicate. The result of the interview on the part of the bank presidents was, "if the Secretary would indicate his willingness to receive a proposition for the negotiation of $50,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds *at par in gold*, they would recommend the National Banks to unite in making it." Mr. Sherman, in his letter to the President reporting upon the interview, says, "We were met by the bank presidents with what I considered rather a chilly reception," and intimates that their chief spokesman was more disposed to discuss the silver bill than talk about purchasing 4½ per cent. bonds.

The subsequent interview with the syndicate was more satisfac-

tory, and resulted in the closing of a contract under which the government sold $50,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds at $101½ gold, thus assuring the success of specie resumption.

The result of this negotiation was to reduce the ruling premium upon gold; and only exceptionally thereafter did it rise above 1 per cent., gradually disappearing as the date fixed for resumption approached.

It also stimulated to some extent the subscriptions for fours under the Treasury programme; and on June 30, 1878, the Department sent out a further circular, again calling attention to the loan and again inviting the co-operation of the National Banks.

During the last six months of the year large and rapid sales of "fours" were made, and on Dec. 18, 1878, a call was issued for redemption of the last of the five-twenties of 1865, leaving as the only outstanding 6 per cent. bonds the five-twenties of 1867 and 1868 and the sixes of 1881 not yet due.

With the resumption of specie payments, subscriptions increased with unprecedented rapidity, so that on March 4, 1879, the Secretary issued a circular stating that the rapid calls for five-twenty bonds had reduced the amount outstanding to $88,000,000, and that, when this amount was covered, further sales of fours would probably be made only upon terms less favorable to the purchaser.

On the morning of April 5, 1879, when the Secretary arrived at his office, the amount of uncalled five-twenties outstanding was $59,565,700. Before three o'clock of that day subscriptions for fours were received by mail and telegraph aggregating $58,502,750. Reserving $1,000,000 to cover certain contingencies under the contract with the London syndicate, the Secretary announced the subscriptions to the 4 per cent. loan closed, and the following day calls were issued for the remaining five-twenties of 1867 and all the five-twenties of 1868.

On April 9 the first call for ten-forties was made, in anticipation of renewal of sales of fours; and on April 16, 1879, the Department offered for subscription $150,000,000 fours at $100½ and interest, to be applied to redemption of the ten-forty loan, reserving $44,566,300 fours to absorb the $10 4 per cent. refunding certificates.

During the following day large subscriptions were telegraphed to the Department; and before three o'clock the First National Bank of New York, for itself and associates, telegraphed a subscription for $150,000,000 4 per cent. bonds and $40,000,000 refunding

certificates, — the largest firm subscription, within the knowledge of the writer, ever made for any national loan.

The frame of mind in which this brilliant and unexpected closing of the funding loan found the Secretary, is probably best indicated by the following telegraphic reply, addressed to one of the officers of the bank: —

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, April 17, 1879.

Your telegram covering $190,000,000 staggers me. Your telegram for $25,000,000 received, and entered at two o'clock. About $30,000,000 from other parties were received before your telegram. Will wait till letters are received. What is the matter? Are you all crazy?

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

The Secretary declined the subscription for $40,000,000 $10 certificates, preferring to retain them for popular subscription in sums not exceeding $100, and accepted the subscription of the bank for $111,000,000, being the amount not taken before their telegram was received.

It may be noted, in passing, that the *popular subscribers* for the $10 certificates found a pleasant profit during the next few weeks in availing of the liberality and consideration of the government by subscribing for the certificates, and selling them to the dealers in United States bonds at a handsome premium. Long lines of *investors* stood all night at the Sub treasury; and at the New York Post-office (where the certificates were also offered for sale) there were counted in line, before the hour of sale, on the morning of May 21, 405 women and 366 men.

On April 18 the Department issued a call for $160,000,000 ten forties, and on April 21 for the balance of this loan, thus retiring all the bonds then subject to call.

During the year 1881 the redemption option of the government matured upon $469,000,000 fives of 1881 and $202,000,000 sixes of 1881 then outstanding; and, in the absence of special legislation providing for the emergency, President Garfield and Secretary Windom, with the consent of the holders, continued $563,000,000 of them at 3½ per cent., payable at the pleasure of the government. $250,000,000 of these extended 3½s were subsequently refunded at 3 per cent., and before the year 1886 the entire amount was retired from surplus revenue.

Since then the only outlet for the Treasury surplus has been by purchase of 4½s and 4s.

The Public Debt Statement for July 31, 1890, exhibits only $700,799,000 interest-bearing debt, and a total indebtedness, less cash in the Treasury, of $876,389,000, being a reduction from the highest point, in twenty-five years, of $1,780,042,000, or an average of over $70,000,000 per annum.

Our narrative surely presents a record of faithful performance of public obligation, unparalleled in the history of nations, and it now only remains a question of public policy whether this comparatively small remnant of the cost of preserving the Federal Union shall or shall not be entirely paid off before the close of the present century.

Referring to our title, let us briefly summarize what we have endeavored to present regarding the progress of the public credit since 1861.

At the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration, on March 4, 1861, the credit of the United States was practically destroyed.

During the war period it was advanced so that, with the exception of the first issue at $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. gold, the administration was able to contract an indebtedness of nearly $3,000,000,000, at rates of which 6 per cent. gold and $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. currency may be regarded as a fair measure of credit; and this status continued, with slight improvement, until the first issue of the funding loan in 1871.

From 1871 to August, 1876, during which period the fives of 1881 were placed, the borrowing power of the government ruled close to 5 per cent. gold.

From August, 1876, to June, 1877, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. gold.

From June, 1877, to March, 1881, 4 per cent. gold.

During 1881 $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and shortly after 3 per cent.

From 1886 to the present date, measured by the market price of fours, at 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In closing, I will call attention to three measures which have stood as bulwarks of the national credit, which are still in force, and which should stand unrepealed until the last dollar of indebtedness disappears from the ledger of the nation.

1. The provision of the act of Feb. 25, 1862, for the gradual retirement of the debt by a fixed sinking fund.

2. The Public Credit Act of March 18, 1869, pledging the faith of the government to payment of all obligations in coin, unless otherwise stipulated by the law of their creation.

3. The Specie Resumption Act of Jan. 14, 1875, which gives the

Secretary of the Treasury unlimited power to provide coin for redemption of the legal tender notes by the sale of any of the classes of bonds authorized by the refunding acts of 1870 and 1871.

NOTE.—At the present date (Aug. 1, 1892) the national debt, including the Pacific Railroad bonds and accrued interest, stands at $920,438,987; but of this only $585,030,380 bears interest directly chargeable to the Treasury, and the highest interest paid on this is 4 per cent. for about $560,000,000. The Pacific Railroad indebtedness, assumed by the government under certain conditions, is $64,623,512, on which the Treasury has either paid or will pay $68,724,000, for which there is no reimbursement, making a total of $133,347,512. But against this must be set off a sinking fund of $15,983,991. The aggregate debt does not seem to be now decreasing, nor is it likely so to do for the present; but the later forms of Treasury statement are so different from those formerly in use that it is a little difficult to say what is the exact present indebtedness that must certainly be met. The certificates and Treasury notes now outstanding are $619,675,803, of which $331,809,304 are silver certificates.— EDITOR.

5. AIDS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY, F. B. SANBORN, OF CONCORD.

[Aug. 31, 1891.]

Members of the Association,— It has occurred to me, in presenting my annual report, to recall how few and inexact were the aids to be found in the United States in the year 1865, when our Association was formed for the prosecution of those studies in Social Science which have now become so common, and even fashionable. No college curriculum is complete without some attempt to do justice, in its course of study, to the subjects which our Association was the first in this country to bring to general notice; and hundreds of young men and women are now devoting attention to matters which in 1865 scarcely drew a passing thought, except from a few State officials here and there, and a few of those who then elaborated the scanty and imperfect collections made by our national Census Bureau. There were, to be sure, scattered and confusing statistical writers, here and there, whose publications, even in the lines of commerce and currency, generally contradicted one another; and there were two or three persons of statistical accuracy, whose compilations were of great value, such as the late Dr. Edward Jarvis.

It was this scarcity of material for the investigation of social questions, indeed, which suggested to the founders of this Association the importance of bringing together in this way the persons interested in the development of civilization here, and in setting forth its results, and its unsolved problems, for the information and guidance of each other. However the conception of such a society as ours originated,— and I fancy it was obtained from the earlier society of the same name in England, now unhappily defunct,— the idea was communicated in practical form to the American public by my colleagues of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, in August, 1865. This Board, the earliest of some fifteen which now exist in the United States, and which convene every year in the National Conference of Charities, had

found since October, 1863, when it was established, that the general information it sought in regard to the topics of Poverty, Industry, Insanity, Pauperism, Crime, and Disease, were very hard to obtain, because there was no common centre, to which such facts would naturally be drawn. Its seven members, therefore, after nearly two years of active service, united in summoning those persons interested in these and in other social topics to meet in convention at the Massachusetts State House in Boston, and there organize an association similar to that existing in England, and to another in Belgium. To this invitation about three hundred persons, from all parts of the Northern States except the extreme West, responded; and the American Social Science Association was then and there founded, under the Presidency of Professor William B. Rogers, then at the head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but extending his regard over the whole field of science, as much as any man in America.

It may interest this audience to know that, of the seven men who invited the first meeting of our Association, six-and-twenty years ago, Dr. S. G. Howe, the eminent philanthropist, Dr. Nathan Allen, an instructive writer on population, and Messrs. Edward Earle, H. B. Wheelwright, Theodore Métcalf, J. C. Blaisdell, and F. B. Sanborn, the four last-named are still living, and keep up more or less their interest in the questions which we discuss.

Consider now, for a moment, what the course of the past twenty-six years has done to put knowledge concerning the numerous branches of Social Science within reach of those who would study them. I can only name a few aids, and perhaps not all the most important ones; but some of these, and what they can do, it will be well to mention.

That great instrumentality for collecting material that can be used inductively in our social studies — the United States Census Bureau — has grown to be of immense importance since 1865. The instant the pressure of our slave-holding system was taken off, and it was no longer thought necessary to collect and shape facts so as to injure the reputation of slavery as little as possible,— that is, from 1861 onward,— the national census became truly indicative of social conditions, though, of course, very imperfect both in its collection and its tabulation. Each succeeding issue of the decennial volumes corrects some gross errors of the preceding census, and enables us to judge better of the probable accuracy of its own tables and deductions. Perhaps the best lesson that this enormous

library of calculations, and frustrated or half-completed inceptions, can teach us, is this: that statistics, on which so many able men have depended, to teach the world politics, economy, philosophy, and morals, are but a frail dependence after all, unless corrected and employed under the guidance of great general principles, such as statistics alone can never teach us. Our honored correspondent, M. Levasseur, in his paper on Malthus, soon to be read, will show how weak and crumbling was the statistical foundation on which that humane Englishman built up his cruel and sceptical edifice of conjecture. Had he not been predisposed, by the abominable social system then active and applauded in England, to such conjectures, Malthus, with his kindly heart and his acute though limited penetration, could never have thought his facts, such as they were, basis enough for his positive and dogmatic inferences. We are glad to see this dogmatism refuted by M. Levasseur, in his calm, judicial, diffusive manner; but my townsman, Emerson, in 1858, addressing the farmers of Middlesex County, had pronounced a more pungent sentence on this heresy of Malthus and Ricardo. He said, a whole generation since: —

> There has been a nightmare, bred in England, of indigestion and spleen, among landlords and loomlords; namely, the dogma that men breed too fast for the powers of the soil; that men multiply in a geometrical ratio, while corn multiplies only in an arithmetical; and hence, that the more prosperous we are, the faster we approach these frightful limits. Nay, the plight of every new generation is worse than of the foregoing; because the first comers take up the best land, the next the second best; and each succeeding wave of population is driven to poorer, so that the land is ever yielding less returns to enlarging hosts of eaters. Henry Carey of Philadelphia replied, "Not so, Mr. Malthus, but just the opposite of so is the fact." The last lands are the best lands. It needs science and great numbers to cultivate the best land, and in the best manner. Thus true political economy is not mean, but liberal, and on the pattern of the sun and sky. Population increases in the ratio of morality; credit exists in the ratio of morality. Such are the texts of better opinions and better auguries for mankind.

Well, the tables of each new census of these United States not only confirm the observations of Carey and of Emerson by showing that the lands last brought under cultivation are the highest in value,— for example, the cranberry bogs of the Old Colony in Massachusetts,— but also by confuting Malthus in most of his de-

ductive theories about pauperism and dense population, poverty, and the subdivision of lands, etc. The new census tables of 1890 indicate — for they can hardly be said to demonstrate anything as yet — that, as our population has grown more dense, pauperism has not increased relatively, but just the opposite. To be sure, they also indicate that insanity and crime, two great feeders of pauperism, are increasing, as, thus far, they always have when population grows more dense, unless Great Britain for twenty years past be an exception in regard to crime. But the census tables further show, or will, when they are made up, that the subdivision of great estates at the South is not unfavorable to agricultural production, and that the anticipated swallowing up of small farms in large ones at the North has not yet gone very far.

Quite as important for students in Social Science, and more immediately available, are the State censuses, wherever taken, as in Massachusetts, and those approximations to a State census which are made by the Labor Bureaus, Bank Commissions, and other State officers, including, here and there, a few (only too few, alas!) carefully collected vital statistics. Now that M. Levasseur has introduced, for these general statistical results, the concise term "Demography," we may perhaps hope to see demographic bureaus in State after State, which shall ultimately give us a yearly census,— the only form of these enumerations which can have any great accuracy for students of Social Science. What a field, for example, would the official "demographer" of this Empire State of New York have if he were once appointed and were competent to his task! A large part of his work would consist in correcting the amazing blunders now put forth from year to year by less instructed officials of his own State.

Invaluable for the census tabulators, though as yet very sparingly used by them, are the facts reported annually or biennially by the fifteen Boards of Charities, the twenty or thirty State Boards of Health, the twenty State Bureaus or Departments of Labor, and the few existing Prison and Bank Commissions in the several States. I do not mention Lunacy Commissions, because they have not as yet, when detached from other State Boards, contributed much to the public information, which, as regards insanity, is at a very low ebb in the United States, if I may judge by the newspaper fulminations on this delicate and most important subject. Every form of harmless, absurd, and noxious misinformation respecting insanity, its causes, conditions, and results, gets pub-

lished far and wide in our newspapers, and, too often, in grave official reports. Some half-dozen years ago a State Lunacy Commission, on which were two or three medical men, who seemed to see no nonsense in the proposition, passed a vote instructing the medical superintendents of State Hospitals to discharge no insane patient until he was cured. As the annual admissions since then in that State have been more than 1,600, while the deaths and recoveries have been but about 300 a year, this vote, if carried out, would have added some 5,000 insane persons in six years to the population of the already crowded asylums, and would have compelled the building of a huge one every year. Slowly the truth is dawning upon our medical men and legislators, which was long ago perceived and acted upon in Belgium and in Scotland, that the true policy for a community is not to crowd as many insane persons as possible into asylums, but to keep as many as is safely possible out of those overgrown establishments.

Not a single Lunacy Commission, State Board of Health, Labor Bureau, or Prison Commission existed, I think, in the United States when we organized the Association in 1865. There was but one State Board of Charities, as I have said, and that had made but one report. It existed till it had made fifteen, all more or less valuable for the facts they contained. It was then succeeded by another State Board in Massachusetts, with fuller powers,— among them those of a Lunacy Commission,— and this second Board has made twelve reports. The New York State Board of Charities has made twenty-three annual reports ; that of Rhode Island, as many ; that of Pennsylvania, twenty-one ; that of Ohio, fifteen ; and the other States, a smaller number, because they report only biennially. Now, all these volumes, if brought together, make a library by themselves ; and if we add to them the eighteen volumes, small and large, of the National Conference of Charities, and the publications, some of them very valuable, of the New York State Charities Aid Association, the New York Prison Association, and the National Prison Association, a great collection of material, of much variety and importance, is available, in a dozen libraries throughout the country, for the use of students.

A few words may be given here to what this collection of reports will show concerning insanity and its treatment. The first observation made by these State Boards, now so numerous, in regard to the insane, showed, as do all the United States census tables, a large apparent increase of the patients for whom public provision

should be made. Now, although the asylums and hospitals for the insane were managed by persons of special experience and professional skill, who had brought the subject of insanity prominently before the public mind in the States mentioned, and had become recognized authorities as to its treatment, at that time (now twenty-five years ago) the opinion was almost universal that insanity was a disease easily curable, provided its treatment commenced early. And so the efforts of specialists and legislators went to secure this early provision for hospital treatment, no matter at what expense; while it was also maintained that the chronic insane, if not curable, yet had possibilities of recovery which must be favored by maintaining them in costly hospitals among the curable cases. Upon this theory, which was supported by statistics of recovery now shown to have been fallacious, the insane of a given State (like Massachusetts or New York) ought not to increase at all in number, if the State did its duty in building and maintaining costly hospitals. The State Boards were puzzled, therefore, in Massachusetts and New York at first, and presently in Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and other States, to find that the insane *were* increasing rapidly, in apparent contradiction of the prevalent theory. The building of a new hospital, instead of diminishing insanity, seemed to develop it; and the accumulation of the insane was so uniform, in States very differently situated in other respects, that there must be some prevailing cause throughout the country for an effect so generally noticed. Gradually, and to a great extent in consequence of the essays of our veteran associate, Dr. Pliny Earle, on the curability of the insane, it was ascertained that insanity in general is by no means easily curable, and that its increase was due to the fact that so many persons were attacked, while so few recovered or died in a given time. This discovery, that the curable are at all times very few in proportion to the incurable, has led the State Boards almost everywhere to recommend and secure increased provision for the chronic insane, separate from the hospitals in which the curable are treated. This provision was made on a large scale in Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, and other States, and was recommended elsewhere. In some States, like Pennsylvania and Ohio, the necessity for such chronic asylums is not yet fully recognized. But even there, and in all the States, except, of late, New York, the tendency is now in that direction. Still more will it be so when the numerous statistics collected and arranged by the State

Boards are perused and understood; for these demonstrate, not only that the insane, as a class, are not readily curable, even when they seem to recover, but that they are even less curable than formerly. The reports of almost every old hospital in the country show this, perhaps none more clearly than those of the ancient Pennsylvania Hospital, long directed by Dr. Kirkbride, and of late by a distinguished alienist of New York, the real founder of the Willard Asylum, Dr. John B. Chapin.

President White, in his address a year ago, in which he bestowed on your Secretary some compliments very acceptable, but not wholly deserved, spoke of the increasing study of Social Science in our universities, and particularly at Cornell. He has left it for me to say that nobody has done more than himself to promote this study, and that his own university was the first, so far as I know, to collect a store of books on these subjects in its great and useful working library. Such collections are now found in many places, and some of the best are in State Libraries; but they need to be made more available to students by short narrative and explanatory catalogues, showing what material is specially valuable, and for what reason. In my classes at Cornell University, where I lectured and made excursions for four years, with great pleasure and benefit to myself at least, I tried to give my students this kind of guidance in their reading; and it is quite necessary. I would suggest that our wealthier libraries appropriate money enough to have this sort of cataloguing thoroughly done for the whole country.

In mentioning the foreign books and periodicals which will aid an American in his researches in social economy, and the other regions of our almost boundless field, I have to regret that the British annual volume of *Social Science Transactions* has for some years past failed to appear and is not likely to be continued. Its place is more than made good, however, by the publications of the Le Play Societies of France, and particularly their periodical organ, *La Réforme Sociale*, and by the monthly *Bulletin* of the French "General Prison Society" of Paris, which considers a great many topics besides the prison question. Our corresponding member, M. Auguste Couvreur, of Brussels, has this year commenced editing another monthly review, the organ of the newly revived "Society for Social and Political Studies," which takes the place of an extinct international organization of philanthropists and economists existing before the Franco-Prussian and Austro-

Prussian wars a quarter of a century since. There is also a quaint and invaluable little German monthly magazine, the *Labor Colony* (*Arbeiter-Kolonie*), which keeps the public informed concerning those interesting new charities for the abatement of the tramp nuisance in Germany,— the twenty-odd Labor Colonies of Germany, and the innumerable Friendly Inns of that country. I speak of this because it is scarcely known at all in America, I believe.

Time would fail, and your exemplary patience be quite exhausted, were I to speak of the thousands of volumes concerning education, health, jurisprudence, political, and social economy, which have poured from the European and the American press in such abundance since the close of our Civil War. Literature of this sort is fast taking the place of those treatises on theology and those volumes of ecclesiastical polemics which are still numerous, but are giving way to systems, essays, manuals, and illustrations of Social Science, which have little to do with heaven or hell, but aim to make this pitiful little globe of ours a better place for us while we inhabit its crust. I ought to mention, however, the *magnum opus* of our associate, M. Levasseur, a portion of which he has kindly sent us for this meeting. It is in three octavo volumes of large size, and appears to be the most full and satisfactory work on demography and population which has yet been published, though, of course, not very complete or recent as regards the United States.

These European writings can assist us much in our American studies. But it should never be forgotten that they relate to an order of things and a system of society which, even now, are alien to our own country, although Europe and America approximate more and more, socially and politically, as time goes on. We must specially study the conditions, the advantages, the evils, and the vicissitudes of the United States; and for this purpose the new societies that are every year and everywhere springing up will be of the greatest assistance. We can hardly recite their names; but we know that some of them are energetic, some are learned, some are popular, and all may be useful. We bid them God-speed, but must ourselves adhere to this old homestead of the American Social Science Association, which has sent forth so many active children, and welcomes all of them who choose to come back and spend a morning or an evening with the old folks.

6. THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS.

[In the absence of Dr. Peterson at the General Meeting of 1892, when he proposed to bring forward the subject above named, no full treatment of it could be given by the Association. Dr. Peterson, since his return from Europe,— indeed quite recently, July 13, 1892,— has addressed the New York State Board of Charities on a "Plan for an Epileptic Colony," which is sufficiently in detail to be given here.]

OUTLINE OF A PLAN FOR AN EPILEPTIC COLONY.

BY FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., ATTENDING PHYSICIAN TO THE NEW YORK HOSPITAL FOR THE NERVOUS AND EPILEPTIC.

It is a great pleasure to come before this Board, at the invitation of Mr. Letchworth and of your President, Mr. Craig, to speak to you upon a subject in which I have been deeply and earnestly interested and engrossed for five or six years, knowing that the law in this State has been passed, and that you are a commission appointed under that law, not only to select a site and prepare plans for an epileptic institution, but to prepare those plans on the colony system, with a view not only to the care-taking of this class, but to their education and their instruction in different trades and callings.

In this work we must lose sight of the word "institution" if possible. We must rather think of some small village. The less it is like an institution, the better. There should be no very large buildings; nor should there be a symmetrical arrangement of the pavilions, cottages, workshops, etc., such as has been made at Gallipolis, Ohio. Although the ideas as to the character of an epileptic retreat, such as I have always maintained and frequently described in various papers, were carefully instilled by me into the Ohio commissioners who visited me in New York with their architect, and although my instructions were, in the main, followed in the distribution of buildings and the determination of their character and purposes, yet it was not apparently possible for the architect to rid himself of the hospital, asylum, or institutional

idea; and doubtless, too, the people in the vicinity were eager in demanding something imposing in the way of State architecture.

I. The first point, then, to be borne in mind is, that buildings should be arranged in a village or colony plan, separated entirely, often provided with their own little gardens, surrounded by hedges, so that they shall be as independent and homelike as possible. Though there should be system in their arrangements, there should be no symmetry, such as would lead to their designation as an asylum or an institution at first sight.

II. The second point is to keep in mind the aims of the colony.

(*a*) *It is to be a home.* A community of people cut off all their lives from ordinary social pleasures and pursuits by a malady that really robs them, in most cases but for a few moments, each day, or week, or month, or several months, of their faculties.

(*b*) *It is to be a school.* Denied education in public schools, the epileptic here receives such advantages as he requires, and each and every member of the colony, without regard to age, should be given the opportunity, if desired, of acquiring knowledge.

(*c*) *It is to be an industrial college.* All useful trades and callings are to be conducted in this colony. Hence provision for shops of various kinds must be made.

(*d*) *It is to be a hospital.* That is, every patient will be treated for his disorder, and there will be one building set aside for such as are feeble-minded or insane, or confined to bed.

III. The third subject for consideration is the probable percentage of the various classes. Roughly speaking, we should provide an observation building for new cases (five per cent.), hospital accommodation for, say, ten per cent., school buildings for fifteen per cent., and shops, residences, etc., for some seventy per cent. of workers.

IV. As to land, there should be from 300 to 400 acres or more, if possible diversified, but well adapted for agriculture, stock-raising, and the like. Out-of-door employment is one of the best means for treatment of epilepsy.

V. The colony should be situated in the centre of population because of ease of access for patients and advantages for the visitation of friends. But a far more important reason for placing it near the largest city of the State is, to secure the services of a visiting board of those gentlemen who make a specialty of nervous and mental diseases, and of an expert pathologist,—who together would make it one of the great objects of the colony to discover

the cause and cure of a disease from which some 120,000 people are suffering in the United States alone at the present time.

VI. Suggestions as to buildings and their arrangement:—

(*a*) The superintendent should have a private house to himself.

(*b*) The observation wards (five per cent. of cases), the infirmary wards (for the sick, infirm, demented, and insane, amounting to ten per cent.), and the administration building could be combined advantageously. The observation wards are for newcomers, who must be examined and studied for weeks at a time, in order to ascertain their character, their abilities, the nature of their seizures, and the proper kind of treatment for them to undergo. Between these should be the administration building, offices, rooms for one or two resident physicians, accommodation for members of a nurses' training-school, etc. Back of these again, but connected by a corridor, are the hospital wards, to be arranged not only for those who are sick from ordinary illnesses, but also for those who are too feeble-minded for work, or who are insane. Great pains should be taken to isolate the wards for excited patients to such an extent that no one will be disturbed by them. These buildings should contain small dormitories and private rooms. In some part of the hospital should be a hydrotherapeutic chamber, with walls and floor impermeable to water, provided with rain-baths, hot boxes, cold plunge, douches, and bath-tubs. There should be separate kitchens and dining-rooms.

(*c*) Remote from here a group of cottages for *women*, with extensive gardens for the raising of flowers, flower-seeds, berries, bees, etc.

(*d*) A group of cottages for *men* next to the gardener's house. These are the men who work about the grounds, caring for the trees, lawns, hedges, paths, and roads. The grounds will be made not only attractive, but instructive; for all trees and shrubs are to be labelled, and an effort should be made to establish not only a botanical garden, but a zoölogical one as well.

(*e*) A school building should be provided for children of both sexes of tender years. It should be their residence as well, and the school conducted on the kindergarten plan.

(*f*) A large school building for each sex, containing not only school and recitation rooms, but rooms for studying music, drawing, designing, architecture, modelling, and the like,— also rooms for teachers and some of the pupils.

(*g*) A museum, lecture-room, library, reading-room, and gymna-

sium, with a swimming-bath, might be advantageously combined in one building.

(*h*) A chapel.

(*i*) Stables for cows, sheep, pigs, horses, and dairy, with cottages for men detailed to see to the work required in this department.

(*j*) A farmer's house, with a group of cottages for men engaged in farm work.

(*k*) Shops. *For men:* 1. Tailors, shoemakers, and saddlers in one building. 2. Carpenters, painters, and glaziers, furniture-makers, and upholsterers in one building. 3. Blacksmiths, iron-founders, tinners, and locksmiths in one building. 4. Printers, book-binders, etc., in one building. *For women:* Sewing-room, dressmaking, millinery, fancy work, etc., in one or two buildings. Bedrooms may be combined with some of these buildings, the object being to scatter the residents as much as possible.

(*l*) A central kitchen, bakery, and store-room, combined with a cottage or two for the women who work here. From this central kitchen may be sent out to the various houses the chief articles of diet, which should always be simple,— bread, mushes, milk, eggs, and various groceries, soups, and meat once daily. Every cottage, however, should have its own dining-room and small kitchen for reheating some foods and for light cooking.

(*m*) Laundry, wash-room, ironing-room, mending-room, with a residence for those women who are occupied in this department.

(*n*) A pathological laboratory of the most recent design, fully equipped with everything requisite for good scientific work. This laboratory to be in connection with the mortuary, and remote from other buildings. A cottage not far away for the residence of the pathologist would be necessary.

While I have endeavored to delineate as well as possible the needs of a model epileptic colony, there are many things not mentioned here that will develop with the gradual evolution of the colony. For instance, if the land is such that quarries exist upon it, or that brick may be manufactured, a new industry would arise, requiring its particular cluster of buildings for work and residence.

The buildings that I have enumerated reach the figure of about thirty. The Bielefeld colony, with a thousand patients, had fifty-five buildings at the time of my visit several years ago. With the exception of the observation and hospital building, none of the buildings need to be specially planned to meet the wants of epileptics. They should be as much as possible like ordinary houses.

The ventilation should be by fireplaces and windows, as in ordinary town and country houses.

Each residence should have, if possible, a simple rain-bath, upstair dormitories and bedrooms, with a sitting-room, small kitchen, and dining-room below.

It will doubtless be of advantage to make all buildings fire-proof. All the buildings need not to be constructed at once. A community of this kind cannot be provided for in a moment. It must grow into a colony by a sort of evolution, its wants being supplied, as they become manifest, through the intelligent direction of its superintendent and trustees. The inhabitants of this colony will, in time, be able to erect their own buildings as required.

And now a word or two as regards commitment. All patients under age can be sent by their parents, just as they would send children to boarding schools, transferring their parental authority for the time being to the officers and teachers of the colony. All other patients are to be voluntary denizens of the colony, except such as through mental impairment of any kind require confinement in the infirmary; and with these last the ordinary procedures taken in lunacy cases should be carried out, formally committing them to the infirmary of the colony.

Note.—Dr. Peterson has also written and published "The Bielefeld Epileptic Colony," *Medical Record*, April 23, 1877; "The Colonization of Epileptics," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, December, 1889; "A Plea for the Epileptic," *New York State Charities Record*, August, 1890; "Progress in the Care and Colonization of Epileptics," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, August, 1892.

CONSTITUTION,

LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ETC.,

OF THE

American Social Science Association

AUGUST 15, 1892.

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II. Its objects shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a President, as many honorary Vice-Presidents as may be chosen, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Council, charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such Local Committees as may be established by the Council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Council shall consist of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department, and ten Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Chairman, and Secretaries of Departments, and Directors shall be chosen annually by members of the Association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or in his absence a Director, shall be Chairman of the Council. The Chairman of the Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a Branch Association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its President shall be *ex-officio* one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And whenever a Local Department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Council, its Chairman shall become *ex-officio* a member of the parent Association. The Chairman and Secretary of each Department, with the consent of the President of the Association, may appoint such special Department Committees as they may think best. The General Secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns, or is removed by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the Council; and out of his compensation he may pay the salary of an Assistant Secretary, who may also be Secretary of one Department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the Annual Meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life-member exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V. The Council shall have sole power to call and conduct General Meetings, and to publish the Transactions and other documents of the Association, The Department Committee shall have power to call and conduct Department Meetings.

VI. No amendment to this Constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

American Social Science Association.

(Founded in 1865.)

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1891-92.

President, H. L. WAYLAND, Philadelphia.

First Vice-President, ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, Ithaca.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, Ct.
DANIEL C. GILMAN, Baltimore, Md.
WILLIAM T. HARRIS, Washington, D.C.
CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. JOHN E. LODGE, Boston.
LUCY M. BROWNE, M.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL, Washington, D.C.
E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, Providence, R.I.
GRACE PECKHAM, M.D., New York.
HENRY B. BAKER, Lansing, Mich.
DORMAN B. EATON, New York.
HENRY VILLARD, New York.
H. HOLBROOK CURTIS, M.D., New York.
JOHN M. GREGORY, Washington, D.C.
R. A. HOLLAND, St. Louis, Mo.
JOHN EATON, 129 E St., Washington, D.C.

General Secretary, F. B. SANBORN, Concord, Mass.

Treasurer, ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 45 Cedar St., New York.

Directors.

CHARLES A. PEABODY, New York.
F. J. KINGSBURY, Waterbury, Conn.
T. W. HIGGINSON, Cambridge.
JOHN W. CARTER, Boston.
CHARLES A. COLLIN, Ithaca, N.Y.
SEYMOUR DEXTER, Elmira, N.Y.
E. J. JAMES, Philadelphia.
JOHN L. MILLIGAN, Allegheny, Pa.
S. M. HOTCHKISS, Hartford, Ct.
W. D. FOULKE, Richmond, Ind.

Department Officers.

I. *Education.*—MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., Amherst, *Chairman;* L. F. BRYSON, M.D., 38 West 38th Street, New York, *Secretary.*

II. *Health.*—FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York, *Chairman;* W. D. GRANGER, M.D., Bronxville, N.Y., *Secretary.*

III. *Finance.*—JOHN P. TOWNSEND, 53 East 54th Street, New York, *Chairman;* SETH S. TERRY, 10 Wall Street, New York, *Secretary.*

IV. *Social Economy.*—F. B. SANBORN, Concord, *Chairman;* JOSEPH LEE, Brookline, Mass., *Secretary.*

V. *Jurisprudence.*—Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, *Chairman;* C. LARUE MUNSON, Williamsport, Penn., *Secretary.*

Executive Committee.

H. L. WAYLAND, *President;* F. B. SANBORN, *General Secretary;* ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *Treasurer;* Dr. L. F. BRYSON, *Education Secretary;* Dr. F. PETERSON, *Health Chairman;* Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, *Jurisprudence Chairman;* JOHN P. TOWNSEND, *Finance Chairman;* JOSEPH LEE, *Social Economy Secretary.*

DEPARTMENT COMMITTEES, 1891-92.

Education Department.—Dr. Merrill Edwards Gates, Amherst, Mass.; Dr. S. F. Scovel, Wooster, Ohio; T. W. Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor W. T. Harris, Washington, D.C.; Justin Winsor, Cambridge, Mass.; Richard T. Auchmuty, New York; Professor Alpheus Hyatt, Boston; Louis F. Soldan, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. G. H. Palmer, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor W. H. Payne, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Miss Marian Talbot, Walter S. Parker, Horace G. Wadlin, Boston; Walter Channing, M.D., Brookline, Mass.; L. F. Bryson, M.D., New York.

Health Department.—Frederick Peterson, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York; H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D., New York; E. M. Hunt, M.D., Metuchen, N.J.; W. Gill Wylie, M.D., New York; Professor W. H. Brewer, New Haven, Conn.; George E. Waring, Jr., Newport, R.I.; J. S. Billings, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Henry B. Baker, M.D., Lansing, Mich.; Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D., New York; Lucy M. Browne, M.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.; Grace Peckham, M.D., New York; B. Sachs, M.D., New York; Dr. Titus Munson Coan, New York; A. N. Bell, M.D., Brooklyn; Cyrus Edson, M.D., New York; Professor Charles Doremus, New York; William D. Granger, M.D., Bronxville, N.Y.

Finance Department.—John P. Townsend, 53 East 54th Street, New York; William L. Trenholm, New York; David J. Hill, Rochester, N.Y.; George S. Coe, New York; Francis A. Walker, Boston; Edward Atkinson, Boston; Professor H. W. Farnam, New Haven, Conn.; Professor Henry C. Adams, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Gamaliel Bradford, Boston; W. M. Ivins, New York; J. Sloat Fassett, Elmira, N.Y.; Martin W. Cooke, Rochester, N.Y.; Robert P. Porter, Washington, D.C.; Joseph Wright, Cincinnati; Professor J. W. Jenks, Ithaca, N.Y.; C. C. Jones, Augusta, Ga.; Seth S. Terry, New York.

Social Economy Department.—F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.; Carroll D. Wright, Washington, D.C.; Robert Treat Paine, Boston; Rev. Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. John L. Milligan, Allegheny, Pa.; Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, Springfield, Mass.; Miss Mary M. Cohen, Philadelphia; Miss Grace E. Dodge, New York; Professor E. J. James, West Philadelphia; Rev. J. G. Brooks, Brockton, Mass.; Joseph Lee, Boston.

Jurisprudence Department.—Professor Francis Wayland, New Haven, Conn; Hon. C. C. Bonney, Chicago, Ill.; Charles A. Peabody, New York; Professor Henry Hitchcock, St. Louis, Mo.; Professor Carleton Hunt, New Orleans; Thomas Thacher, New York; F. L. Wayland, Philadelphia; B. H. Bristow, New York; C. J. Bonaparte, Baltimore; Theodore Bacon, Rochester, N.Y.; Theodore S. Woolsey, Professor William K. Townsend, New Haven, Conn.; C. La Rue Munson, Williamsport, Pa.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[All officers are *ex-officio* members of the Association; but persons serving on the Department Committees may or may not be members of the Association. In this present list, the annual members are given alphabetically, without reference to States; then the life members follow, classified by States; and, finally, the honorary and corresponding members. The only distinction between honorary and corresponding members is that the former reside in the United States, the latter in foreign countries. It is a rule of the Association to drop from the list of annual members those who have not paid their assessment for two years, but members so dropped can be restored to the list by paying their arrears. If former members do not find their names on the list as it now stands, it will generally be for the reason just mentioned.

No List of Members of the Association, as printed, can ever be quite complete, so many changes occur by death and withdrawal, the accession of new members, etc. The following list is as complete as the Secretary could make it up to Aug. 15, 1892; but, no doubt, the addresses of several members are wrong, and there are instances of names misprinted, etc., of which the Secretary will thank any person to notify him when the fact is observed.]

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Adams, Mrs. Florence J., 286 Huron St., Chicago.
Adams, W. Irving, Montclair, N.J.
Anderson, Rev. J., Waterbury, Conn.
Andrews, E. Benjamin, Providence, R.I.
Atkinson, Edward, 31 Milk St., Boston.
Atwood, Dr. Chas. E., Utica, N.Y.
Auchmuty, R. T., 51 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Avery, Edward H., Auburn, N.Y.
Baker, Henry B., State Board of Health, Lansing, Mich.
Baldwin, Prof. S. E., New Haven, Ct.
Battell, Hon. Robbins, 74 Wall St., New York City.
Beckwith, P. D., Dowagiac, Mich.
Beckwith, Miss, 68 Brown St., Providence, R.I.
Bemis, Edward W., Nashville, Tenn.
Bird, F. W., East Walpole, Mass.
Bissinger, Philip, 22 St. John St., New York City.
Blatchford, E. W., 375 La Salle Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Boardman, D. L., Troy, N.Y.
Bonaparte, Charles J., Baltimore, Md.
Bonney, C. C., Chicago, Ill.
Bowker, R. R., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bradford, Rev. A. H., Montclair, N.J.
Braman, J. C., 50 State St., Boston.
Breed, W. J., Cincinnati.

Brewster, Lyman D., Danbury, Conn.
Brinkerhoff, Roeliff, Mansfield, Ohio.
Brockway, Z. R., Elmira, N.Y.
Brooks, Rev. Phillips, 233 Clarendon St., Boston.
Brown, Dr. W. Y., 3319 Hamilton St., Philadelphia.
Browne, Dr. Lucy M., 181 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bruen, Rev. J. D. Hart, Belvidere, N.J.
Bryson, Louise Fiske, M.D., 38 West 38 St., New York City.
Bullard, W. S., 5 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.
Carter, John W., 172 Columbus Ave., Boston.
Chamberlain, D. H., 42 Wall St., New York City.
Channing, Dr. Walter, Brookline, Mass.
Church, Frederic E., Hudson, N.Y.
Clark, J. S., 7 Park St., Boston.
Clinton, H. L., 58 Park Ave., New York City.
Collin, Prof. Charles A., Ithaca, N.Y.
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, 60 State St., Boston.
Corning, Erastus, 87 State St., Albany, N.Y.
Coxe, Eckley B., Drifton, Luzerne Co., Pa.
Crane, Rev. Oliver, Morristown, N.J.
Crothers, Dr. T. D., Hartford, Conn.
Curtis, Geo. W., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y.
Curtis, H. Holbrook, M.D., 29 West 30th St., New York City.
Dall, Mrs. Caroline H., Washington, D.C.
Davies, Julien T., 32 Nassau St., New York City.
Denslow, Van Buren, 58 Williams St., New York City.
Dexter, Seymour, Elmira, N.Y.
Dike, Rev. S. W., Auburndale, Mass.
Dimock, H. F., Pier 11, N. R., New York City.
Dittenhoeffer, Hon. A. J., 96 Broadway, New York City.
Doughty, W. H., Troy, N.Y.
Dowd, Rev. Charles F., Saratoga, N.Y.
Dunning, Rev. A. E., 1 Somerset St., Boston.
Eaton, Dorman B., 2 East 29th St., New York City.
Eaton, Hon. John, Washington, D.C.
Edmands, A. Lawrence, P.O. Box 1425, Boston.
Eliot, C. W., LL.D., 17 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.
Evans, Mrs. Glendower, 12 Otis Pl., Boston.
Farnam, H. W., New Haven, Conn.
Finley, John H., Galesburg, Ill.
Fisher, Irving, New Haven, Conn.
Foote, Miss Mary B., 352 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass.
Foulke, W. D., Richmond, Ind.
Fowler, Charles M., Elizabeth, N.J.
French, Francis O., 33 West 37th St., New York City.
Frothingham, Rev. O. B., 118 Marlboro St., Boston.
Frothingham, Mrs. O. B., 118 Marlboro St., Boston.
Gallaudet, E. M., LL.D., Washington, D.C.
Gano, John A., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Gardiner, Henry B., 66 Stimson Ave., Providence, R.I.
Gates, Merrill E., LL.D., Pres. Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Gilman, D. C., LL.D., Pres. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Ginn, Edwin, 13 Tremont Pl., Boston.
Gladden, Rev. Washington, Columbus, Ohio.
Glenn, John, Baltimore, Md.
Goddard, Miss Matilda, 251 Newbury St., Boston.
Granger, Dr. W. D., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
Green, Jacob L., Hartford, Conn.
Greenough, W. W., 229 Marlboro St., Boston.
Grew, Henry S., 89 Beacon St., Boston.
Groesbeck, W. S., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Haines, H. S., New York City.
Hale, Geo. S., 10 Tremont St., Boston.
Hallowell, Mrs. R. P., West Medford, Mass.
Halsey, J. J., Lake Forest, Ill.
Harkness, Prof. A., Providence, R.I.
Harris, Wm. T., Washington, D.C.
Higginson, T. W., 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass.
Higginson, Waldo, Boston.
Hitchcock, Henry, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
Hoadly, George, 120 Broadway, New York City.
Holland, Rev. R. A., St. Louis, Mo.
Holt, Henry, 29 West 23d St., New York City.
Hooker, Mrs. I. B., Hartford, Conn.
Horsford, Prof. E. N., Cambridge, Mass.
Hotchkiss, S. M., Hartford, Conn.
Howard, H., 7 Eddy St., Providence, R.I.
Hutchings, John, Lawrence, Kan.
Hyde, Rev. C. M., D.D., Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.
Jacobi, Dr. A., 110 West 34th St., New York City.
James, Prof. E. J., University of Pennsylvania, West Philadelphia.

James, Mrs. John W., 37 Newbury St., Boston.
Jaques, David R., 120 Broadway, New York City.
Jones, Fernando, 1834 Prairie Ave., Chicago.
Kellogg, Charles D., 21 University Pl., New York City.
Kellogg, Dr. John H., Battle Creek, Mich.
Kimball, B. A., Concord, N.H.
Kingsbury, Miss Alice E., Waterbury, Conn.
Kingsbury, Miss Edith D., Waterbury, Conn.
Kingsbury, F. J., Waterbury, Conn.
Kursheedt, Manuel A., 35 Warren St., New York City.
Lee, Henry, 40 State St., Boston.
Lee, Joseph, Brookline.
Leete, Dr. James M., 2912 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Leonard, Mrs. C. T., Springfield, Mass.
Levy, Rev. Clifton H., 449 West 23d St., New York City.
Lindsey, C. E., Fall River, Mass.
Little, Moses, 63 Merrimack St., Lowell, Mass.
Livermore, Rev. A. A., Wilton, N.H.
Lord, D. Benjamin, 34 West 28th St., New York City.
Lukins, Dr. Anna, 1068 Lexington Ave., New York City.
Lyman, Arthur T., Boston.
Lynde, Mrs. Wm. P., Milwaukee, Wis.
Marshall, James, Fall River, Mass.
Marwedel, Miss Emma, San Francisco, Cal.
Mason, Miss Ida M., 1 Walnut St., Boston.
May, Rev. Samuel, Leicester, Mass.
Means, William G., 40 Water St., Boston.
Mercer, George G., 330 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
Milligan, Rev. J. L., Allegheny, Pa.
Minot, Wm., Jr., 39 Court St., Boston.
Mitchell, Mary A., Villa de Bouyn, Ave. des Fleurs, Nice, U.M., France.
Moore, Chas. Halsey, Plattsburg, N.Y.
Morey, Prof. W. C., Rochester, N.Y.
Munson, C. La Rue, Williamsport, Pa.
Neilson, James, New Brunswick, N.J.
North, Thomas M., 120 Broadway, New York City.
Oliver, Mrs. Grace A., Salem, Mass.
Olmsted, Frederick Law, Brookline, Mass.
Paine, Robert Treat, 6 Joy St., Boston.
Parkman, Henry, Rogers Building, 209 Washington St., Boston.
Parsons, S. M., 41 Wall St. New York City
Peabody, Charles A., 2 Wall St., New York City.
Peckham, Grace, M.D., New York.
Peterson, Frederick M.D., 201 West 54th St., New York City.
Post, H. C. von, P. O. Box 137, New York City.
Potter, Edward T., Newport, R.I.
Potter, Rev. President, Geneva, N.Y.
Prang, Louis, 286 Roxbury St., Boston.
The President of the Social Science Club, Ware, Mass.
Putnam, Charles P., M.D., 63 Marlboro St., Boston.
Putnam, Miss Elizabeth C., 63 Marlboro St., Boston.
Robbins, George A., Box 947, New York City.
Rotch, Miss Joanna Milton, Mass.
Round, W. M. F., 135 East 15th St., New York City.
Rowe, Dr. G. H. M., City Hospital, Boston, Mass.
Runkle, Prof. J. D., Brookline, Mass.
Schlesinger, Barthold, Boston, Mass.
Schurman, Prof. J. G., Ithaca, N.Y.
Schuyler, Miss Louisa Lee, 19 West 31st St., New York City.
Scovel, Rev. Sylvester F., Wooster, Ohio.
Shattuck, George O., 35 Court St., Boston.
Slocum, Miss Jane M., Canandaigua, N.Y.
Smith, Eugene, 33 Pine St., New York City.
Smith, Mrs. Frances A., 124 Circular St., Saratoga, N.Y.
Smith, George W., 115 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.
Smith, H. D., Plantsville, Conn.
Smith, T. H., 218 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Spencer, Mrs. Sara A., Washington, D.C.
Stearns, James S., 58 Williams St., New York City.
Stickney, George, Grand Haven, Mich.
Stokes, James, 47 Cedar St., New York City.
Stone, George H., Thomasville, Ga.
Strauss, Oscar N., 42 Warren St., New York City.
Sunderland, Rev. J. T., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Swartz, James S., 307 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Talbot, Mrs. I. T., 66 Marlboro St., Boston.
Talcott, J. B., New Britain, Conn.
Taylor, James R., 268 Henry St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Taylor, Prof. Graham, Hartford, Conn.

Terry, Seth S., 10 Wall St., New York City.
Thiry, J. H., Long Island City, L.I.
Thurber, F. B., 116 Reade St., New York City.
Townsend, John P., 53 East 54th St., New York City.
Townsend, Prof. W. K., New Haven, Conn.
Trumbull, Rev. H. C., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tweedy, Edmund, Newport, R.I.
Van Bibber, Dr. W. C., 26 W. Franklin St., Baltimore, Md.
Vaughan, J. C., 148 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Villard, Henry, Mills Building, New York City.
Ward, W. E., Port Chester, N.Y.
Waring, George E., Jr., Newport, R.I.
Warner, Charles Dudley, Hartford, Conn.
Warner, John DeWitt, New York City.
Wayland, C. N., 9 West 36th St., New York City.
Wayland, Mrs. Francis, New Haven Conn.
Wayland, Rev. Dr. H. L., Philadelphia, Pa.
Weeks, Joseph D., Pittsburg, Pa.
Wells, Edward W., 34 Prospect St., Hartford, Conn.
Wheeler, E. S., New Haven, Conn.
Wheeler, J. Davenport, care Prof. Francis Wayland, New Haven, Conn.
White, Alfred T., 40 Remsen St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Willard, Miss Frances E., Evanston, Ill.
Wilson, Geo. G., Brown University, Providence, R.I.
Winthrop, Robert C., 90 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass.
Wolcott, Mrs. Harriet F., Boston.
Wood, Frederic, 245 Broadway, New York City.
Wright, Carroll D., Washington, D.C.
Wyman, F. A., 131 Devonshire St., Boston.
Young, Charles L., 71 Mount Vernon St., Boston.
Young, Henry L., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Massachusetts.

Angell, George T., Montgomery Place, Boston.
Barnard, James M., Boston.
Barnard, Mrs. James M., Boston.
Blatchford, J. S., Boston.
Bradford, Gamaliel, 113 Exchange St., Boston.
Brimmer, Martin, 47 Beacon St., Boston.
Eliot, Mrs. Samuel, 44 Brimmer St., Boston.
Endicott, William, Jr., 10 Mount Vernon St., Boston.
Farwell, Mrs. A. G., 16 Beacon St., Boston.
Forbes, John M., 30 Sears Building, Boston.
Gray, Hon. William, 20 Mount Vernon St., Boston.
Little, James L., 2 Commonwealth Ave., Boston.
Lincoln, D. F., Boston.
Lodge, Mrs. J. E., 31 Beacon St., Boston.
Pierce, Hon. Henry L., 158 State St., Boston.
Robeson, William R., 212 Beacon St., Boston.
Sanborn, F. B., Concord.
Sanborn, Mrs. Louisa L., Concord.
Wigglesworth, Edward, M.D., 79 Boylston St., Boston.
Wolcott, Roger, 53 Tremont St., Boston.

New York.

Cole, William A., 41 Broad St., New York City.
Dike, Henry A., New York City.
Dodge, William E., Jr., 11 Cliff St., New York City.
Dodge, Charles C., New York City.
Field, David Dudley 4 Pine St., New York City.
Herrman, Mrs. H., 59 West 66th St., New York City.
Hewitt, Abram S., 17 Burling Slip, New York City.
James, D. Willis, New York City.
Letchworth, W. P., Portageville.
Libbey, Jonas M., 47 Park Ave., New York City.
Pierrepont, Edwards, New York City.
Stokes, I. N. Phelps, New York City.
Stokes, Anson P., 47 Cedar St., New York City.
Stokes, Thomas, 47 Cedar St., New York City.
Villard, Mrs. Henry, New York City.
Ward, J. Q. A., 9 West 48th St., New York City.
Ware, William R., Columbia College, New York City.
White, Andrew Dickson, Ithaca.
Wolcott, Miss Ella L., Elmira.
Young, J. Edward, New York City.

Other States.

W. G. Hammond, St. Louis, *Mo.*
Prof. Goldwin Smith, Toronto, *Can.*
Rev. Albert G. Lawson, 308 Penn St., Camden, *N.J.*
Francis Wayland, LL.D., New Haven, *Conn.*
J. W. Hoyt, Cheyenne, *Wy.*
Sydney Meyers, Chicago, *Ill.*

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

In America.

Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Henry Barnard, LL.D., Hartford, Conn.
Moncure Daniel Conway, Esq., New York, N.Y.
Major-Gen. O. O. Howard, Portland, Ore.
Edmund A. Meredith, Esq., Wellington St., East Toronto, Can.
Hon. Domingo F. Sarmiento, Buenos Ayres.
Lewis A. Sayre, M.D., 795 Broadway, New York.
Prof. Daniel Wilson, Toronto, Can.

In Great Britain and Ireland.

Thomas Hughes, M.P., London.
Sir Walter Crofton, The Close, Winchester.
Lord Radstock, London.
Miss Frances Power Cobbe, 24 Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.
Henry Dunning McLeod, Esq., Oxford and Cambridge Club, London.
Alfred Field, Esq., Birmingham.
Thomas H. Barker, Esq., Manchester.
G. W. Hastings, Esq., M.P., London.
Henry W. Acland, M.D., F.R.S., Oxford.
Miss Edith Simcox, London.
Miss Louisa Innes Lumsden, Glenbogie, Rhynie, Scotland.
Herbert Spencer, Esq., London.
Miss J. Frances Dove, St. Andrews, Scotland.
Lord Hobhouse, 15 Bruton St., London.
Prof. James Bryce, M.P., London.

In France.

Dr. Thomas W. Evans, Paris.
M. Jules Simon, Paris.
M. Emile Müller, Paris.
M. Joseph Garnier, 14 Rue Richelieu, Paris.
M. August Laugel, 19 Rue de la Ville l'Evêque, Paris.
M. Emile Cacheux, Paris.
M. Emile Trelat, Paris.
M. F. Buisson, Paris.
M. Emil Levasseur, 24 Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris.
M. Arthur Raffalovich, 19 Avenue Hoche, Paris.

In Germany.

Dr. Ernest Engel, Royal Statistical Bureau, Berlin.

In Italy.

Signor Martino Beltrani-Scalia, Rome.
Prof. C. F. Gabba, Pisa.
Prof. Alberto de Errera, Cavaliere della Corana d'Italia, Venice.

In Switzerland.

Prof. Charles Secrétan, Lausanne.

In Hungary.

M. E. Horn, M.P., Budapest.

In Belgium.

M. P. Buls, Brussels.
M. Van der Rest, Brussels.
M. August Couvreur, Brussels.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of Social Science. Containing the transactions of the American Association. Nos. I.–V., 8vo, paper, each $1.50. Nos. VI.–XXIX., each $1.00.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWO.— Current Record of the Association. I. Immigration — Frederick Kapp. II. The American Census — James A. Garfield. III. The Mode of Procedure in Cases of Contested Elections — Henry L. Dawes. IV. The Public Charities of the State of New York — Theodore W. Dwight. V. The Public Libraries of the United States — Ainsworth R. Spofford. VI. The Science of Transportation — Joseph D. Potts. VII. Vaccination — A Report presented by Francis Bacon, William A. Hammond, and David F. Lincoln. VIII. The Election of Presidents — Charles Francis Adams, Jr. IX. Life Insurance — Sheppard Homans. X. The Administration of Criminal Justice — George C. Barrett. XI. Health Laws and their Administration — Elisha Harris. XII. An International Code — D. D. Field. XIII. General Intelligence. XIV. Constitution. XV. List of New Members. XVI. List of Works relating to Social Science published in 1869.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THREE.— I. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns — F. L. Olmsted. II. Art Education in America — C. C. Perkins. III. Civilization and Health — Francis Bacon. IV. American System of Patents — S. A. Duncan. V. Nature and Sphere of Police Power — T. D. Woolsey. VI. Legislation and Social Science — E. L. Godkin. VII. Representation of Minorities — D. D. Field. VIII. Relations of Business Men to National Legislation — H. A. Hill. IX. Houses in the Country for Working Men — G. B. Emerson. X. Minority Representation in Europe — Thomas Hare. XI. Application of Mr. Hare's System of Voting to the Nomination of Overseers of Harvard College — W. R. Ware. XII. General Intelligence. 1. Home. 2. Foreign.

NUMBER FOUR is out of print, as well as NUMBERS ONE, THREE, EIGHT, and NINE.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIVE.— I. Municipal Government — Dorman B. Eaton. II. Higher Education of Women — T. W. Higginson. III. Restoration of the Currency — Joseph S. Ropes. IV. Some Results of the Census — Francis A. Walker. V. Public Vaccination — F. P. Foster. VI. The International — David A. Wasson. VII. Legislation in Relation to Pharmacy — G. F. H. Markoe. VIII. General Intelligence.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIX.— General Meeting at New York. I. Opening Address — George William Curtis. II. The Work of Social Science in the United States — F. B. Sanborn. III. Financial Administration — G. Bradford. IV. Conference of the Boards of Public Charities. V. Pauperism in the City of New York. VI. The Farmers' Movement in the Western States — Willard C. Flagg. VII. Ocean Lanes for Steamship Navigation — Prof. B. Peirce. VIII. Rational Principles of Taxation — David A. Wells. IX. American Railroads — Gardiner G. Hubbard. X. Reformation of Prisoners — Z. R. Brockway. XI. The Deaf-mute College at Washington — Edward M. Gallaudet. XII. The Protection of Animals — George T. Angell. XIII. American Finance — Prof. W. G. Sumner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVEN.— I. Private Property upon the Sea — Rev. Dr. Woolsey. II. Conference of Boards of Health. III. (School Hygiene) — Drs. D. F. Lincoln and A. L. Carroll. IV. Tent Hospitals — Dr. J. F. Jenkins. V. National, State, and Sectarian Universities — A. D. White and Dr. McCosh. VI. Free Lending Libraries — W. W. Greenough. VII. The Young Men's Christian Association — Cephas Brainard. VIII. Ocean Lanes. IX. Prison Reform in Europe and America — Dr. Wines and F. B. Sanborn. X. Social Science Record. XI. Conference of Boards of Charities.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHT.— I. The Production and Distribution of Wealth — David A. Wells. II. The Work of Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. III. Progress in International Law — J. B. Angell. IV. The Experiment of Civil Service Reform — Dorman B. Eaton. V. The Treatment of the Guilty — W. G. Eliot. VI. Health in Schools — Drs. D. F. Lincoln, J. J. Putnam, etc. VII. Financial Policy of England and the United States — G. Bradford. VIII. Limitations of Judicial Power — Emory Washburn. IX. Life Insurance for the Poor — Elizur Wright and Sheppard Homans. X. Legal Education — W. G. Hammond. XI. The Detroit Meeting.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINE.— I. Social Science in Theory and Practice — F. B. Sanborn. II. The Silver Question — W. Stanley Jevons. III. The Silver Question — B. F. Nourse. IV. Savings Banks — John P. Townsend. V. Local Taxation — William Minot, Jr. VI.

Industrial and Social Aspects of the Southern Question — W. L. Trenholm. VII. Education in the Southern States — T. M. Logan. VIII. The Navigation Laws of Great Britain and the United States — Hamilton A. Hill. IX. The Tariff Question — Horace White. X. Custom House Forms — Henry D. Hyde. XI. State and Municipal Government — Samuel Bowles. XII. Municipal Economy — Daniel L. Harris.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TEN.— Transactions of the Association, 1879. I. American Education, 1869–79. Annual Address of President Gilman. II. The Method of Study in Social Science — William T. Harris. III. Report of the Department of Education — Mrs. I. T. Talbot. IV. The Voting of Women in School Elections — A. P. Peabody. V. Relations of Christianity to the Common Law — M. B. Anderson. VI. The Place of the Practical Man in American Public Affairs — Hamilton Andrews Hill. VII. Chinese Immigration — S. Wells Williams. VIII. The United States and the Declaration of Paris — Theodore S. Woolsey. IX. Recent Changes in our State Constitutions — Simeon E. Baldwin. X. The Policy of Patent Laws — Frederic H. Betts. XI. The Sewerage of the Smaller Towns — George E. Waring, Jr. XII. Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation — Joseph D. Weeks.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER ELEVEN.— Report of the Annual Meeting, 1880. List of Members. I. Southern Questions: 1. The Negro Exodus from the Gulf States — Frederick Douglass. 2. The Emigration of Colored Citizens from the Southern States — R. T. Greener. 3. Colored Schools in Virginia — Mrs. Orra Langhorne. II. Recent Changes in the West — Robert P. Porter. III. A Report on Protection from Casualties in the Use of Machinery — Professor William Watson. IV. International Coinage — Robert Noxon Toppan. V. Social Economy Papers: 1. Report of the Department of Social Economy — F. B. Sanborn. 2. The Care of Poor and Vicious Children — Charles L. Brace. 3. Social Economy in Illinois — Mrs. Harbert. 4. Co-operative Distribution — William A. Hovey. 5. Co-operation in England — James Samuelson. Saratoga Papers of 1877: 1. Extradition — Sheldon Amos. 2. Graduate Courses at Law Schools — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWELVE.— Professor Peirce's Cincinnati Address: The National Importance of Social Science in the United States. President Gilman's Opening Address. Report of the General Secretary, by F. B. Sanborn. Report of the Treasurer and Publication Committee: Professor Wayland and F. B. Sanborn. Papers of the Education Department: I. Report on Kindergarten Schools — Professor Harris, Mrs. Talbot. II. The Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools — Samuel S. Green. III. Educational Progress in England — Miss Edith Simcox. IV. Home Life in some of its Relations to Schools — Miss Mary W. Hinman. V. The American Newspaper and American Education — Dr. J. M. Gregory. Libel and its Legal Remedy — E. L. Godkin. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Associated Charities. A. The Principle and Advantage of Association in Charities — Rev. D. O. Kellogg. B. General and Special Methods of Operation — Rev. O. C. McCulloch. C. The Need and Work of Volunteer Visitors — R. T. Paine, Jr. D. The Care and Saving of Neglected Children — Miss Anna Hallowell. II. The Principle of Volunteer Service — Mrs. Florence Bayard Lockwood. III. The Recreations of the People — George B. Bartlett. IV. The Justifying Value of a Public Park — F. L. Olmsted. Constitution, Officers, and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTEEN.— Order of Business at Saratoga in 1881. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: I. Pensions in a Republic — Frederick J. Kingsbury. II. Modern Legislation touching Marital Property Rights — Henry Hitchcock, LL.D. III. The German Socialist Law of Oct. 21, 1878 — Henry W. Farnam. IV. The Study of Anatomy, Historically and Legally Considered — Edward Mussey Hartwell, M.A. Papers of the Health Department: I. The Treatment of Insanity in its Economic Aspect — Walter Channing, M.D. II. Adulterations in Food — Professor S. W. Johnson. Debate on Adulterations. Remarks of George T. Angell. General Papers: I. Christianity and the Relations of Nations — Charles L. Brace. II. Indeterminate Sentences and their Results in New York — Z. R. Brockway. III. Changes in American Society — Julia Ward Howe. Appendix; Infant Development.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FOURTEEN.— I. The General Meeting of 1881. Death of President Garfield. II. Opening Address of Professor Wayland, President of the Association. III. The Threefold Aspect of Social Science. Report of the General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn. IV. Civil Service Reform, an address by George W. Curtis. V. The American Newspaper — Charles Dudley Warner. VI. Prohibitory Legislation — P. Emory Aldrich. VII. Province of Legislation in the Suppression of Intemperance — F. W. Bird. VIII. License and Prohibition — Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. IX. The Moral Statistics of the United States — Dr. Woolsey. X. Divorce Laws — Professor W. C. Robinson. XI. Lax Divorce Legislation — Rev. S. W. Dike. XII. Address on Health and Insanity — Walter Channing, M.D. XIII. Women Practising Medicine — Dr. E. F. Pope. XIV. Constitution, List of Members, Officers, and Committees of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIFTEEN.— I. Papers on Infant Development — Professor Harris, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Alcott, Dr. Preyer, M. Taine, etc. II. Report of Mrs. Talbot. III. Religious and Moral Education of Children — Professor G. S. Hall. IV. Treatment of Incipient Insanity — Mary Putnam-Jacobi, M.D. V. Debate on Insanity — Professor W. T. Harris, Dr. Channing, F. B. Sanborn, etc. VI. Papers on Building Associations — R. T. Paine, Jr., and Addison B. Burk. VII. Homes for the People in Washington — John Hitz. VIII. Art in its Relation to the People — Martin Brimmer.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIXTEEN.— Papers of the Health Department: I. Address of the Chairman — Walter Channing, M.D. II. The Michigan Plan for Boards of Health — Dr. Henry B. Baker. III. The Health Care of Households with Special Reference to House Drain-

age — Ezra M. Hunt, M.D. IV. The Health of Boys' Boarding-schools — D. F. Lincoln, M.D. V. The Health of Criminal Women — Eliza M. Mosher, M.D. VI. The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards — Albert N. Blodgett, M.D. VII. Remarks of Mr. Parker on Boards of Health. VIII. International and National Relief in War — Miss Clara Barton. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. II. The Factory System as an Element in Civilization — Carroll D. Wright. III. Early Factory Life in New England — Mrs H. H. Robinson. IV. American Factory Life — Miss Lucy Larcom. V. Ten Hours — Rev. Jesse H. Jones.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVENTEEN. — I. Introduction. II. Address — Rev. A. D. Mayo, on National Aid to Education. III. Address — President Angell, on Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department, namely: 1. Professional Ethics — Theodore Bacon. 2. Local Self-government — Edward W. Bemis. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime — James F. Colby. 4. A Plan for Extinguishing Crime — Edwin Hill. 5. Punishment for Certain Crimes — H. A. Hill. V. Address — Professor W. T. Harris. VI. The Darwin Commemoration. VII. A Paper on the Progressive Spelling — Rev. H. L. Wayland. VIII. Miscellaneous Matters.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHTEEN. — I. Introductory. II. Opening Address — Professor Wayland. III. Report of the General Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. IV. Papers on Health and Education: 1. Health and Social Science — Dr. E. M. Hunt. 2. Physical Training in Homes and Training-schools — Professor D. A. Sargent. 3. True Higher Education — W. C. Thomas. 4. Causes of Insanity — Dr. W. Channing. 5. Inebriety in Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 6. The Disease of Inebriety — Dr. T. D. Crothers. 7. House-building and Drainage — G. E. Waring, Jr. 8. Moral Education in Schools — Professor W. T. Harris. V. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Assertion of Rights — J. T. Platt. 2. International Ethics — E. M. Gallaudet, LL.D. 3. Legal History of the Telephone — M. F. Tyler. VI. Addresses and Special Papers: 1. American Civil Service System — J. M. Gregory, LL.D. 2. Public Libraries — J. M. Larned. 3. Religion of India — Mr. Mozoomdar. 4. New Methods of Study in History — H. B. Adams. VII. Papers of the Social Economy Department, namely: 1. Race Problems in the United States — Professor C. A. Gardner. 2. Relations between Employers and Employed — Mrs. S. K. Bolton. 3. Child-helping in New York — C. L. Brace. 4. Prison Labor.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINETEEN. — I. Introductory. II. Report of the Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. III. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation — C. D. Wright. 2. Financial Standing of States — Henry C. Adams. 3. The Rate of Wages — Edward Atkinson. 4. Industrial Education — F. A. Walker. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Conflict of State Laws — Eugene Smith. 2. The Pardoning Power — F. Wayland. 3. Threefold Basis of the Criminal Law — F. H. Wines. V. Hebrew Charities — Mary M. Cohen. VI. Constitution and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY. — I. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Function of Latin and Greek in Education — Dr. W. T. Harris. 2. Problems in Education — Mrs. Emily Talbot. 3. Athletic Education — Dr. Edward Hitchcock. 4. Physical Education in Women's Colleges — Mrs. R. S. Bryan. 5. The Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland — Miss Lumsden. II. Additional Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Law for the Commitment of Lunatics — Mr. F. H. Wines. 2. Lunacy Legislation in the North-west — Professor A. O. Wright. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Dr. Sargent's Summary. 2. Tenement Houses — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. IV. The Civil Service in States and Cities — Edward M. Shepard.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-ONE. — 1. President Eaton's Address, 1885. 2. Business and Debates of 1885. 3. Synopsis of Social Science Instruction in Colleges. 4. Methodical Education in Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. 5. Social Science and Social Conditions — W. T. Harris. 6. The Unnamed Third Party — H. L. Wayland. 7. Socialism and State Action — Edward W. Bemis. 8. Labor Unions under Democratic Government — D. M. Means. 9. Influence of City Life on Health and Development — Dr. G. Peckham. 10. The Health of American Cities — C. F. Wingate. 11. The Physical Training of Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 12. The Constitution and National Development — E. V. Reynolds. 13. Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians — President Gates. 14. Arbitration of Labor Disputes — Rev. W. Gladden. 15. The Place of Art in Education — Thomas Davidson. 16. The Relation of the Drama to Education — W. O. Partridge. 17. Child-life in City and Country — C. D. Kellogg. 18. City and Country Schools — W. M. Beckner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-TWO. — Conference of Alienists. Business and Debates of 1886. Notice of Deceased Members. I. Papers of the Department of Education: 1. The Definition of Social Science and its Classification — W. T. Harris. 2. Social Science Instruction in Colleges — Mrs. Emily Talbot and W. T. Harris. 3. Popular Instruction in Social Science — Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers of the Department of Health. 1. The Nervousness of Americans — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. Mineral Waters of America and Europe — T. M. Coan, M.D. 3. Rabies and How to Prevent it — Valentine Mott, M.D. 4. Noses — H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D. 5. The Science of Dietetics — Wallace Wood, M.D. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman: Labor and Capital — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Property — Thomas Davidson. 3. Letters of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Wayland. 4. The Right of Property in Land — W. T. Harris, LL.D. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Postal Savings Banks — Dr. H. L. Wayland. 2. How to deal with Habitual Criminals — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

515.13

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.— Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President: Problems of the Census — Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor — F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments — A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered — G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations — J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question — Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury — D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty — Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incorrigible — Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State — H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses — H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.— Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs — D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal — Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type — William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases — C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address — T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges — Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women — Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE.— General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor — Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree — Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education? — W. A. Purrington. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education Antecedent to the Study of Medicine — Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations — Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided? — Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States — John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois — Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York — Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations — Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas — Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance — Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States — J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.— General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly — President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property — George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime — S. T. Dutton. 4. Immigration and Crime — W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand — Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane — Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England — Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.— General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South — Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate — Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.— General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations — S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions — S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages — Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut — F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory — Mrs. C. R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration — Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions — George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices — E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia — Dr. Paul Gibier. 2. The Silver Question — J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service — W. D. Foulke.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-NINE.— Introduction. The General Meeting of 1892. The Late Dr. Pliny Earle. I. Summer Camps for Boys — Dr. W. T. Talbot. II. The New York City Health Department — Dr. Cyrus Edson. III. The Tenement House: Its Influence upon the Child — Dr. Mary E. Herrick. IV. The Progress of the Financial Credit of the Government of the United States — Joseph T. Brown. V. Aids in the Study of Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. VI. The Care of Epileptics — Dr. Frederick Peterson.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890, and Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891.

Sold by DAMRELL & UPHAM, Boston; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York; and by

F. B. SANBORN, *Secretary*,
CONCORD, MASS.

JOURNAL

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXX.

OCTOBER, 1892.

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1892.

PAPERS ON ART EDUCATION, AMERICAN CHILDHOOD, THE SWEATING SYSTEM, ETC.

PUBLISHED FOR THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

1892

EDITED BY

F. B. SANBORN

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

CONCORD, MASS.

Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	iv
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.	v–xviii
GENERAL MEETING OF 1892	xix–xxi
MEMBERS	xxi
OFFICERS	xxii
OBITUARY NOTICES	xxiii–xxxiv
SIR DANIEL WILSON. MRS. C. H. DALL	xxiii–xxix
GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. F. B. SANBORN	xxx–xxxiv
Publications of the American Social Science Association	xxxv–xxxix
I. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS	1–55
SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. F. B. SANBORN	1–11
ART EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIFE. MISS M. B. MARTIN	12–18
EXAMINATION AND COMMITMENT OF THE PUBLIC INSANE IN NEW YORK CITY. DR. M. D. FIELD	19–28
COUNTY JAILS AS REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS. E. B. MERRILL	29–43
AMERICAN CHILDHOOD FROM A MEDICAL STANDPOINT. DR. H. L. TAYLOR	44–55
II. PAPERS OF THE SOCIAL ECONOMY DEPARTMENT	57–147
THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA	57–147
1. SWEATING IN GERMANY. REV. J. G. BROOKS	59–64
2. THE "SWEATING SYSTEM" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. D. F. SCHLOSS	65–72
3. CONDITIONS OF THE LABOR OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN NEW YORK. DR. ANNA S. DANIEL	73–85
4. THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN MASSACHUSETTS. H. G. WADLIN,	86–102
5. TENEMENT HOUSE WORKERS IN BOSTON. W. L. HICKS	103–104
6. THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN GENERAL. JOSEPH LEE	105–137
7. LEGISLATION.—APPENDIX. JOSEPH LEE	138–146
THE GREAT COAL COMBINATION AND THE READING LEASES. C. L. MUNSON	147–163

NOTE.— Of the above fourteen Addresses and Papers, two, Dr. Wayland's Address and Mr. Sanborn's Report, were general Papers; one, Miss Martin's, belonged to the Department of Education; two, Dr. Field's and Dr. Taylor's, to the Department of Health; two, Mr. Merrill's and Mr. Munson's, to the Department of Jurisprudence; and all the rest to the Social Economy Department, being the whole discussion of its special subject.

INTRODUCTION.

The papers included in this number of the *Journal of Social Science* are more than half of the Saratoga Papers of 1892. As some misapprehension may exist in regard to the publication of papers by the Association, it may here be said that all papers engaged for the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association are so engaged, with the understanding that they may be printed in the *Journal of Social Science* if the Council so decide. If, therefore, the writers choose to publish their papers elsewhere (to which the Council offers no objection), it must be with the stipulation that these papers may also be published in the *Journal*, at the option of the Council as to the time of publication.

A list of all the Addresses and Papers for the meeting of 1892 was printed on pages v–vii of *Journal* No. XXIX.

CONCORD, MASS., Oct. 25, 1892.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION, 1892.

HAS THE STATE ABDICATED?

BY H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.

There had been trouble brewing in an iron and steel manufacting town in Western Pennsylvania for weeks. There was no concealment, and in the end no surprise. At last, in the early morning, it was known that the Pinkertons were coming. You know the rest,— how from two of the morning till evening five thousand men on either shore of the river were firing at the Pinkerton barges with guns and cannon, and the Pinkertons were replying, till the latter surrendered. This was not a riot. It was war. And the essential state of war continued for ten days. The war did not grow; but this was a happy accident. There was nothing to prevent its growing. Suppose the Pinkertons had been five thousand, and had had a fair chance, why should there not have been a battle of a week, with five hundred killed instead of twenty?

There is force in the words of the great newspaper which is associated with the illustrious name of our eminent friend, whose serious illness every patriotic man, of whatever party, must deplore, Mr. Curtis: "It does not require an extraordinary flight of the imagination to fancy two of our great railroad corporations contesting the control of some district of territory, and employing two different private armies to win by force what cannot be won by peaceable means."*

And all this time the State did nothing. When at last the State did arouse itself, the situation ceased. But did not the State begin at the wrong end?

A week or two later, much the same series of events was repeated in Idaho, in Tennessee, and in the State of New York, with the same prolonged silence of the State. In all these cases I am not at all speaking of the equities involved: I am only speaking of the State's inaction.

* *Harper's Weekly.*

A few months ago, the Reading Road by a combine got control of the anthracite-producing regions. The next thing was a raise of price, which has several effects. It makes millions of people pay more for a necessary of life. It precludes many kinds of manufacturing, to which the difference in price of coal makes all the odds between success and failure. And, in diminishing the demand for coal, it diminishes the earnings — already too low — of the miners. These results the road is able to produce because, by combination, whether legal or not I do not know, it holds the coal.

And the State? Oh, as before.

As to food adulterations, Mr. H. W. Wiley, chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture, states that the fraud upon the American consumer amounts annually to $700,000,000. If this sum were annually consumed in conflagrations, it would be bad enough. But it represents children starved, families poisoned.

And the State? Is just where it was.

This of food. And the same of medicines. Everywhere men are growing rich, are building palaces, by the sale of alleged cures for every disease. The sufferers, made credulous with pain and fear and despair, clutching at the hope of relief, spend the last shilling on what, in the majority of cases, is worthless and fraudulent, and often harmful.

The other day I found that a young working woman whom I know had been drawn into one of these endowment societies which promise to the innocent that, if he (more often *she*) will pay $3 a month for eighteen months, he can draw out $100, *provided* that a sufficient number of persons join, on the same terms, in the mean time. Thus an incentive is given to every member to draw in others. When the time of maturity (it might be called even over-ripeness) approached, some one in the company suggested to her that the society was not in a very flourishing condition, and indirectly advised her not to pay any more monthly assessments. She took the advice, and thus (as was intended) forfeited all claim to any return. An official, however, offered $5 for certificates with full assignment of all claims, provided the certificates were brought in within a stated (very short) time. When the Massachusetts court inquired into the status, there were 53,000 claimants for $100 each (or less, according as they had paid in), and there was $52,000 of assets, or about one per cent. Just such societies are all the time putting out their prospectuses and offers.

The officers of the law know that it is all a lie; but the State is deaf and blind.

Here are great cities dependent on rivers for their water supply. The city of Providence gets its water from the Pawtuxent. The villages and the manufactories along the river drain into it. A paper published in that city has lately given an account of the filth which is daily poured into the river, so revolting that I dare not quote it. The Schuykill, which is the supply of Philadelphia, receives the drainage of Norristown, Conshohocken, Reading, and the towns of a dense mining region, and of several cemeteries. If a single case of cholera should occur in any of these cities, I do not see what would save Philadelphia from an epidemic, just as Providence was visited by typhoid from its infected water supply four years ago.

And the State is asleep.

Here is a village of one thousand people, living about a mill in which the fathers and husbands earn bread for their families. They are gradually paying for their homes, are sending their children to school. They understand the Constitution, though mayhap they do not all interpret it alike. Some of them fought in the great War for Liberty and Union, or their fathers did. They sustain their churches. Some of the children find their way to college.

One day, there is a question about wages or about time. Perhaps a protective tariff has been enacted, and the price of goods is raised; but somehow it seems to these men that the enhanced profit and they are entire strangers. Then comes a strike or a lockout. Perhaps it is not unwelcome to the employer, who knows that he can get Hungarians or Italians for half-wages. The American-born citizens leave the homes which they have built. The schools are silent, for the foreign children are put in the mill. The American-speaking churches are closed. The village has become Italian or Polish, filled with ignorant, superstitious anarchists, addicted to assassination.

In these words I but faintly outline a picture which is drawn from real life and from personal observation by Mr. Henry Rood, in the September *Forum* (article, "Mine Laborers in Pennsylvania"). In Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lehigh, and other of the coal counties, the mines were once worked by Americans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, and English. The operators treated the miners as they chose. The men were compelled to buy everything

at the company store, at high rates. Presently wages were cut, the screws were tightened. Then came a strike. Then agents were sent abroad, who brought back thousands of Hungarians, Slavs, Polanders, Bohemians, Arabs, Italians, Sicilians, of the lowest class. These men would bear anything. They had worked in the old country for ten cents a day and upwards. Sixty cents a day was comfort. A dollar a day was bewildering opulence. The first instalment was followed by others; and every year the immigrants were of a lower grade. These men live in the most wretched hovels, massed together in filth, breeding disease and contagion. "Decent people hesitate about waiting in railroad stations near mining towns, for fear of being overrun with vermin or of contracting disease." "The police will tell you that the Slav, Bohemian, Italian, and the baser Polanders are guilty of nameless crimes and horrid vices." Murders are abundant, and are rarely punished, owing to the universal perjury. "Women hesitate to drive about the country roads by day: unarmed men are not safe after the sinking of the sun." Even the priests seem to have no authority, and are themselves in danger of assassination. Many of these men are naturalized, and sell their votes at a dollar a head. A large and rich tract of territory has here become denationalized, and has become a national peril.

And the State? The State is so speechless that the silent grave or the voiceless tomb is chattering loquacity in the comparison.

One almost welcomes the cholera panic as a blessing since, for the time at least, it suspends the incoming of a flood of moral and social and political contagion.

Here is a railroad working its employed twelve, fourteen, sixteen hours a day. Presently human muscles and nerves give way. There is a disaster. Twenty lives are lost, because a brakeman, half asleep, did not down brakes. The State might have known how much a man could bear, and where he would break down; but it did nothing, except, after all was over, to order an inquiry, which no doubt was a balm to the bereaved families.

Every year a little army of twenty-five hundred men, ten times as many as were killed on the American side at Bunker Hill, are slaughtered on our railroads while coupling the cars, because the roads do not adopt the automatic couplers.

A few months ago, I set out on a Thursday night from New York to New Haven by the steamer "Elm City." Next morning,

we were lying in Huntington Bay. There was a little wind. The captain, who knew his boat, had put in. There we lay all Friday and Saturday. At last, famine began to stare us in the face; but we meditated with some cheerfulness that there were four hundred dozen eggs in the freight. We should not absolutely perish. However, there were several horses on board, who were not wonted to live on omelets. Late Saturday evening, we made New Haven light. The unseaworthy craft is still feebly traversing the Sound. Almost every week she has a disaster, just missing a catastrophe. Some day she will not escape it. And the State knows it all, and is silent.

Here are the great railroads, created and endowed by the nation, crossing the continent, running through the great farming States. In the words ascribed to Mr. Jay Gould, "they put on the traffic all it will bear." In other words, they load the grain with such a freight that the farmer gets little return, is unable to pay his interest and taxes, and presently he is added to the dangerous class of the landless.

And the State is too busy to give the matter attention. Here have been these Western mortgage companies receiving from Eastern men and women the savings of a lifetime, the dependence of old age. The companies offer to invest at seven to ten per cent. The offer seems fair: money is in demand out West; with the rapid rise of land and the hopes of good harvests, the West is willing to pay a liberal interest. Millions of money have gone West. The lenders had no means of assuring themselves of the good faith of the borrowers. And the result? Millions of dollars loaned on land not worth a year's interest; lenders left in old age destitute. And the State has left the lenders to gain wisdom by experience.

Here are the street cars, which have gained a monopoly of a necessary of life, thrown to them as a gift by the municipalities. I am not afraid to affirm that in the city of my residence the robberies by street cars vastly surpass the robberies by burglars and all the lesser forms of plunder.

West and South, West and North-west, men are grasping great tracts of land. There is no practical inconvenience now, but the time will come when an advancing population will need these lands; and the holders will demand their own price, for land will be a necessity, and the quantity of land cannot be enlarged, it cannot be diluted or expanded. In the States and Territories

where irrigation is a necessity, men have got hold of long tracts on the banks of the streams; and they have all the settlers at their mercy. And the State is silent.

The New York *Tribune* has been publishing a list of the millionaires of the country. In the city of New York there are 1,103. There are 4,047 for the whole country. Of course, it is impossible to state the average sum of their possessions. Probably there are few who rank as low as simply one million. They run up to $50,000,000 or $100,000,000. The other day, when it was incorrectly telegraphed that a citizen of the metropolis had deceased abroad, a paper put his means at $150,000,000. Suppose we set the average at $10,000,000, which does not seem extreme. This would make $40,000,000,000, or two-thirds of the property of the country held by 4,047 persons. And the tendency is for this disproportion to increase. After a man has accumulated a certain amount, it is his own fault if it does not accumulate with constantly accelerating rapidity. A man of wealth can make anything succeed which would be failure with another. And in addition to the natural fecundity of wealth, surpassing that of rabbits and tramps and the Irish peasantry, the rich can always enlist the best genius of the world to guard against losses and to open new avenues.

When a man has so many millions, and controls a necessary of life, it is for himself to say how rich he will be. And, of course, if 4,000 men own two-thirds of the wealth of the country, it is a simple problem in arithmetic how much is left for the remainder of the 65,000,000.

There may be sanguine souls who see nothing alarming or disturbing in this future. I am not of these. I stand appalled at the prospect, or at least at the possibility. But I am reassured by the fact that this is a country of universal suffrage and of a free press. I do not anticipate aught of violence. Where there are votes, they will tell in a peaceful revolution.

But you say, "You are only making your complaint: this is idle, unless you propose a remedy." I do not agree to your position. It is well to diagnose the case, even before we are prepared with a cure. The first thing is to find out *if* anything is wrong, and *what* is wrong.

But, if you ask me for a remedy, I should answer by adapting to the occasion the famous words of Abbé Sieyès: "What has the State been? Nothing. What is it? Something. What do we

mean it to be? Everything." You ask what I would have the State do. It is a large question. I will, however, make a beginning by citing from "Imperial Germany" (an English book) the following notice issued by the German government: —

Warning against Patent Medicines.— An official scientific analysis of a medicine under the name of Schlagwasser, manufactured by Roman Weissman of Vilshofen, has shown that it consists of nothing save a little tincture of *ratanhia*, or *kino*, mixed with tincture of arnica, the value of which is between $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ It is sold at 8*s.* a bottle. It is evident that this decoction does not possess the virtues attributed to it.

If our government took such a step, it is quite likely that there would be fewer brown stone palaces; but there would be more money in the pockets of the people, and more sound livers in their bodies.

As to food, Germany punishes the dealer who sells an adulterated article with fine and imprisonment, even though he is proved ignorant of the adulteration. With us it is stated on good authority that unadulterated sugar, coffee, tea, lard, honey, are hardly to be found. It only remains to adulterate the adulterations. But, in fact, we have passed beyond that point.

The author of "Imperial Germany" also says that the State control of savings-banks and kindred institutions in Germany has been so effective that they show a wonderfully clean record. Spendthrifts and drunkards will soon be deprived of the control of their own property. Similar results come from the State control of railroads, telegraphs, refreshment bars, restaurants at stations.

If it is said that this system involves despotism, that is not at all proven. And it certainly is lamentable that the government calling itself the freest in the world should be the only one that allows its people to be robbed and poisoned with absolute impunity. It is simply impossible for the citizen to protect himself against adulteration, against robbery by street-cars. He has not the scientific knowledge to analyze every article of food. He has not the time to claim redress for every robbery.

Now and then there is a man of the Spartan mould of my dear friend, Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull of Philadelphia, who, when defrauded of 75 cents by the N.Y. & N.H. Steamboat Company, entered suit against the company, and forced them to refund the plunder with interest and costs. All honor to him! Alas that he is so few and solitary! Most of us would have contented ourselves

with some such entry as dear, delightful Mr. Lowell makes in his "Moosehead Journal": —

We embarked on the little steamer "Moosehead," and were soon throbbing up the lake. The boat, it appeared, had been chartered by a party, this not being one of her regular trips. Accordingly, we were mulcted in twice the usual fee, the philosophy of which I could not understand. However, it always comes easier to us to comprehend why we receive than why we pay. I dare say it was quite clear to the captain.

As to the swindling endowment companies and the Iron Hall, as to the calamitous destruction of forests, as to the sweating system, as to child labor, as to the railroad employed who are worked till nature gives way, as to railroad hands slaughtered, I am sure there cannot be a diversity of opinion concerning the duty and the power of the State.

I come to the matter of the great industrial disturbances. Here are strikes; here are lockouts; here are combinations of the employed, union men refusing to allow non-union men to work; here are combinations of employers, several companies consolidated into one immense corporation, with capital passing the imagination; here all the manufacturers in one line combining, and agreeing that, if there is a strike in the shop of one, all the shops shall shut up till his employed have returned to work. Here is a vast loss to everybody, to the immediate community, to remote workers in connected industries; a hundred ships wait in vain for their cargo; and, in the end, perhaps blood; and almost surely the introduction of a mass of foreigners, with results to which I have alluded. Shall not the State act before the evil is under way? If the State is to come in at the finish with the bayonet, shall it not come in at the start with the balances?

The duty of the government to interfere for the restriction of immigration is all the more pressing from the fact that excessive and indiscriminate immigration is the direct result of measures adopted by the government. The government imposes high protective duties. The object of this is to deprive the foreign manufacturer and laborer of an American market. Deprived of the opportunity to labor, what shall the Italian or German or Hungarian do? He comes over to America, and offers to do the work of the American mechanic at one-third wages. The result is not far to seek.

I cannot believe that the ideal of human destiny is found in the

status described by a writer in the August *Contemporary Review*, "It has become obvious that five-sixths of the population of Great Britain must continue to be hired servants, dependent on the owners of capital and land for leave to earn a living."

The Massachusetts Board of Arbitration, though with only moral powers, in the year 1890 brought peace in every case which was frankly intrusted to its mediation. What would not a Board of Arbitration have saved in the one disturbance at Homestead? And a board should have not alone moral weight: it should have behind it the whole force of the State.

The accumulation of fortunes in few hands is a subject that is no doubt involved in difficulty, largely through our superstitious idolatry of "the sacred right." But it is not insuperable. New Zealand has adopted the principle of progressive taxation,— taxing the property of the rich at twice the rate of the poor. This, though but a step, yet is in the right direction. Estates and inheritances are taxed progressively. And no doubt we shall presently provide for the equal division of the property of a parent among his natural heirs, so that no longer shall a vast estate descend to a single heir, to be swollen, through another generation, into yet more gigantic proportions. Jeremy Bentham urged that taxation need not be limited to the supply of funds for the bare administrative necessities of the State, but that wisely handled, it also supplied an admirable means of gradually equalizing private fortunes.

An English writer says: "Aristotle said that the salvation of a nation in a crisis must lie in its *middle classes*. The tendency with us is to increase property in the hands of a few individuals, leaving an impoverished middle class and cutting off the hope of the poorer classes ever rising into the middle class. The problem of the moment is to prevent this accumulation of immense fortunes in few hands, and to spread this wealth throughout the country."

Against all these imperfect suggestions, I hear the frenzied cry, "This is Paternalism! this is Socialism!" I sincerely hope that we have passed beyond the age of being frightened by names. All government is Socialism in some degree: it is only a matter of more or less. If you talk about Paternalism, it makes a great difference whether the *father* is a youthful *Kaiser* or whether it is ourselves. What is the State? It is you and I and all of us. Now, if we choose to be our own father, to govern ourselves in a paternal way, if we say, "We, the 65,000,000 represented in the

government, will do for the individual citizen what he cannot do well or at all for himself," is it any harm?

But a yet shriller cry is raised. "You are violating the right of property, the most sacred right in the universe." Pardon me. We are not disturbing the right of *property:* we may perhaps disturb some of the alleged rights of *possession*, which is very far from being the most sacred thing in the world, which is one of the least sacred, which is one of the most blood-stained and tainted. When I consider the origin of great fortunes, the beginnings of the wealth of the ducal houses of St. Albans, of Richmond, of Grafton; when I think that till a few years since every ton of coal that came up the Thames to London paid a tax to one of these dukes because his great-grandmother was *not* the wife of Charles II.; when I remember the estates that were created by slave-trading or by slave-working, by rum, by wholesale robbery, the great landed properties that were stolen from a former possessor who had no right to them, and given by a king who had no right to them to a loyal retainer who had no right to them, and then hear men chatter about the sacredness of possession,—I stand speechless at their effrontery.

Once possession in slaves was considered peculiarly sacred, till light was shed on the subject by the ignition of a vast amount of gunpowder. Once the right to take possession of every wreck that came on the shore was deemed very sacred, and men used to pray that it might be a good year for wrecks. Once a man's right of possession in his wife and in his children, his right to task, to beat, to sell, to kill, was unchallenged. Once the divine right of kings was as sacred as now is the right of possession.

Property is sacred. What is property? Character is property. A man's honor, a woman's virtue, a man's own soul, a man's life, a man's right to his belief, his right to liberty (unless he has forfeited it),—these are, in a true sense, property. They do not so much belong to a person as they are of him, are a part of himself. He may not alienate them, he may not dispossess himself of his character, of his purity; nor has any one a right to dispossess him.

But possessions? We constantly go on the principle that the State may at will dispossess a man of his house, his land, his goods. The recent land legislation of Great Britain, under the leadership of the immortal old man who will live in history by the elevation of his own character and by the extent and the value of

his public services, has ignored and trampled on the alleged "sacred right." When he decreed that the landlord should reduce the rent which the tenant, under so-called freedom of contract, had agreed to pay; when he enacted that the landlord should sell, whether he would or not; when he made a law that, in case of a tenant owing more than he could pay, the crown should pay one-third, the tenant another third, and the landlord should give the other third,— he established the great truth for all time that there is no sacred right of possession, that the public welfare takes precedence of all else.

The late Lord Justice Bramwell said: "I have no superstitious reverence for the institution of separate or private property. Show me that its abolition would be for the general good, and I would vote for it, letting down the present possessors gently." I by no means go so far as his lordship; for I am a very calm, cautious conservative. I merely assert that private possession is secondary to the public welfare, and that the great supreme law is the good of all.

We in our every-day experience see the same principle dominant. If you own a lot on Broadway, may you set up there on your own land, with your own money, a dynamite factory, a powder house, an oil refinery? You might, indeed, set up a saloon, a gambling hell, if only you "saw the police" first; for that is the one kind of possession that is sacred in the good metropolis. The right of possession is hedged in on every hand by the rights of others and by the welfare of the community. If the State may on occasion take a man's life, putting him or his son into the army, shall we say that his *money* is sacred from interference if the public welfare make a demand?

I notice that the Governor of Newfoundland, in his address to the colonial legislature called together to devise means for rebuilding the city of St. John, said, "If excessive rents are demanded by land-owners, the attention of the legislature will become necessary." In other words, the holders of property must not use their possessions in a way to be prejudicial to the public welfare.

President Schurman, of Cornell, in an address at Chautauqua (and he who speaks at Chautauqua speaks to the world), said: —

> Private property in itself is nothing sacred. . . . There are unjust laws and institutions and sentiments yet to be overcome in the interest of manual laborers: strikes have been effective means

for the correction of much injustice. . . . It is irrational to suppose that strikes can always continue. What can we substitute? I suggest courts of arbitration, like the courts established by the British Parliament to arbitrate between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The State has an interest in the use of capital and labor, especially when aggregated in large masses, which is perhaps paramount to the interest of the capitalist or the laborers directly concerned. The legislature certainly has the right to enact laws compelling the arbitration of differences between employers and employees. . . . In most strikes both parties are at fault,—the capitalist because he adheres to the letter of the law, and the employee because he violates the law. The latter is animated, however, in many cases at any rate, by the spirit of ideal justice, which it is the duty of legislators to embody in law.

Has a man a right so to use his mill as to dispossess a thousand American citizens, and to create a mob of ignorant, superstitious, passionate foreigners, who shall be a curse and a menace to the State, who shall be the raw material of riot, of savagery, of murder, of everything that is threatening to our civilization? Shall there not somewhere in the resources of civilization be found a remedy?

In the September *Forum*, ex-Lieutenant Governor Black, writing upon "The Lesson of Homestead," says: —

Capital massed on one side and men massed on the other make a situation to which neither the common law nor the statute law of our foregoers is at all adequate. . . . A dispute between an employer and eighteen thousand men . . . cannot be satisfactorily disposed of by ordinary judicial procedure. . . . No man in civilized society can do what he pleases with his own. . . . His property, no less than his life, is held at the call of the State. . . . Mr. Carnegie's business, and the business of other men situated like him, challenge public regulation by reason of their very immensity, to say nothing of the public contributions to them by the unjust operation of monopoly tariff laws. . . . If the State chooses to say him nay, and to lay down the limits of his freedom, he can have no right whatever to go on dealing with three thousand men here and five thousand men there and ten thousand men elsewhere according to his private impulses. All private property is held and enjoyed subject to the public safety; and the contention that great plants like that of the Carnegie companies, built up mainly by public bounties, are exempt from the rule, would be nothing short of monstrous.

In the matter of the Reading leases Chancellor McGill, of New Jersey, says: —

Corporate bodies that engage in public occupations are created by the State upon the hypothesis that they will be a public benefit.

When, therefore, it appears that such a corporation, unmindful of its plain duty, acts prejudicially to the public, it uses its powers in a manner not contemplated by the law which confers them. The Reading leases were beyond the power granted by the legislature, and also void on the ground of public policy, in that they tended to the creation of a monopoly by stifling competition between the contracting corporations, and thereby to increase the price of anthracite coal. . . . To say that these conditions do not tend to a disastrous monopoly in coal would be an insult to intelligence. It is possible that such a monopoly may be used, as the defendants suggest, to introduce economies and to cheapen coal; but it does violence to our knowledge of human nature to expect such a result. . . . If once a complete monopoly be established by the destruction of competition, . . . the promotors and sharers in it may have whatever price their cupidity suggests. The disaster which will follow cannot be measured.

But, further, you speak of the security of possession. Is not security enhanced when possession, no longer concentrated in a few thousand hands, shall be distributed among the tens of millions? Is a pyramid more secure for resting on its apex?

And may we not go further, and believe that one day the idea of the State may expand into the Commonwealth of States, and that the new Commonwealth shall be charged with the welfare of the race? Shall not the time come when it will be reckoned unlawful for any member of this Commonwealth to do any act which is prejudicial to the common weal? Is it always to be tolerated that a great empire shall debase a portion of its people, and then shall force them to exile themselves, and to come upon shores where the people are guiltless of their wrongs, and where their incoming — filthy, savage, more than brutal — is a curse and a calamity, reducing wages, and debasing the national standard?

Already we go on the principle that the great, unused continent belongs, not to Mtesa or Mwango or some other savage accident, but to the human race, to the Commonwealth of Nations. So does not the world belong to him who can demonstrate his title by the use he makes of its possibilities? The Arabs insist on the sacred right of carrying on the slave-trade in the heart of Africa with the sagacity, with the endurance, with the unscrupulousness of first-class demons. Surely, the Commonwealth of Nations has the right to suppress this traffic as it suppressed the trade on the high seas, as it interfered in behalf of Greece two generations ago, and crushed Turkey at the battle of Navarino.

There is fear that Mr. Gladstone may feel compelled by some fantastic notion to withdraw from Egypt, and to leave once more the wretched land which has profited so immensely by the British protectorate and oversight, to another century of misrule, of crushing despotism, of public robbery. No! Egypt does not belong to the naked fellaheen or to some infamous Khedive. It belongs to the Human Race: it is for the Commonwealth of Nations to determine its future in the interests of humanity.

THE GENERAL MEETING OF 1892.

The order of business at this meeting was printed in the Journal No. XXIX., and was followed at the sessions August 29–September 2, inclusive. The address of President Wayland, the Secretary's Report, and many of the papers there read appear in this number of the Journal. During the session the announcement was made of the death of Mr. Curtis, long a member, and for some years President of the Association. Upon motion of Professor Wayland, of Yale College, the following vote was passed: —

Resolved, That in the death of George William Curtis, a former President of our Association, always in full and active sympathy with our aims, and from time to time enriching our annual meetings with papers of great value and interest, the world has lost a social reformer whose labor and reputation cannot be confined by national boundaries; his country, its first citizen in the domain of courageous and enlightened philanthropy; and our organization, a member whose career has ever been an example for our distant imitation.

Hon. Andrew Dickson White, a former President of the Association, having been appointed Minister of the United States in Russia, and being about to sail Thursday, September 1, upon motion of F. B. Sanborn, the following vote was passed: —

The American Social Science Association, meeting at Saratoga Springs, cannot allow its honored associate and recent President, Hon. Andrew D. White, LL.D., to leave these shores in the service of the country without expressing to him its high appreciation of his valued services in connection with this Association, as well as his labors for the promotion of pure legislation and good government and the interests of America, both at home and abroad. It is especially gratified that the country is to be represented at the court of St. Petersburg by a man whose historical studies, as well as his own experience and observation, have given him a sincere attachment to the institutions of his native land. The Association instructs its officers to convey to Dr. White, upon his embarkation, this expression of respect and of sincere good will.

After the annual election of officers, whose names appear on page xxii of this Journal, the Association elected as an honorary member Irving J. Manatt, LL.D., now consul of the United States at Athens in Greece, and Professor Elect of the Greek Language in Brown University.

The debates of the General Meeting, not being fully reported, cannot here be given; but some mention should be made of the address of Dr. William W. Keen, of Philadelphia, made in the Department of Health, August 31, on Brain Surgery. Dr. Keen has made this subject his specialty, and stands at the head of it in the United States. His address, wholly unwritten and illustrated by excellent drawings on the blackboard, dealt first with the localization of brain function, which has made the new art of brain surgery possible and useful, and gave a brief demonstration of cerebral localization, showing first where the motor centres in the human brain are placed, and then where the other centres corresponding to the sense of sight, of hearing, etc., have been ascertained within the past twenty-five years. This important discovery of Cerebral Localization has been determined chiefly in three ways: —

1. By experiments on living animals, whose brains have been observed under the galvanic battery, and by other tests.

2. By close observation of the effects of disease and injury of the brain of man.

3. By many operations on the human brain, based upon what was discovered by the two former methods.

This was the first part of the address, and was made very clear to the whole audience. The second part began with relating and explaining the introduction of the antiseptic method in general surgery, as being of especial importance when applied to operations upon the skull and brain of living men. Dr. Keen then related from his own experience, and from that of Victor Horsley, the chief brain surgeon in England, and other skilful surgeons in this specialty, what it has achieved in the way of restoring a diseased or wounded brain to healthy action, or in relieving suffering, and the otherwise fatal progress of such injuries. These achievements and experiments he classed under the following seven heads, to all of which he gave full attention during his address of an hour's length: —

1. Compound fractures of the skull.

2. Abscesses in the brain.

3. Hemorrhage inside the skull.

4. Insanity, inveterate and severe headache, and allied disorders.

5. Tumors in the brain. (*a*) Radical treatment by extirpation of the tumor. (*b*) Palliative treatment by trephining.

6. Epilepsy.

7. Idiocy from defective development of the skull and brain.

This subject of Localization was followed up, later in the evening of August 31, by a valuable address from Dr. Frederick Peterson, Chairman of the Health Department, on "The Old and the New Phrenology"; and the members congratulated themselves that such a full account had been given of these latest advances on the physical side of mental science.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

ADDED SINCE THE LIST OF AUGUST 15 WAS PUBLISHED.

BUCKLEY, J. M., 150 5th Avenue, New York.
COOKE, GEORGE WILLIS, East Lexington, Mass.
FERREE, BARR, 281 Broadway, New York.
HARNEY, GEORGE F., Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
HASTINGS, HORACE L., 47 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.
LOGAN, WALTER S., 58 William Street, New York.
MARTIN, MISS MYRA B., 38 West 38th Street, New York.
STARR, MISS MARION E., Burlington, Ia.
SWIFT, EDWARD Y., Detroit, Mich.
TAYLOR, GRAHAM R. (new address), 81 Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.

The address of Mrs. H. Herrman, a life member, should be 59 West 56th Street, and not 66th Street, as recently printed in our lists.

The new honorary member, chosen at the Saratoga meeting, is Irving J. Manatt, Athens, Greece.

The address of one of our French corresponding members should be Emile Cacheux, 25 Quai Saint-Michel; and the name of Professor Daniel Wilson, deceased, should be dropped from the list of honorary members.

American Social Science Association.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1892-93.

President, H. L. WAYLAND, Philadelphia.

First Vice-President, ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, Ct.
DANIEL C. GILMAN, Baltimore, Md.
WILLIAM T. HARRIS, Washington, D.C.
CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. JOHN E. LODGE, Boston.
LUCY M. BROWNE, M.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL, Washington, D.C.
E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, Providence, R.I.
GRACE PECKHAM, M.D., New York.
HENRY B. BAKER, Lansing, Mich.
DORMAN B. EATON, New York.
HENRY VILLARD, New York.
H. HOLBROOK CURTIS, M.D., New York.
JOHN M. GREGORY, Washington, D.C.
R. A. HOLLAND, St. Louis, Mo.
JOHN EATON, Washington, D.C.

General Secretary, F. B. SANBORN, Concord, Mass.

Treasurer, ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 45 Cedar St., New York.

Directors.

CHARLES A. PEABODY, New York.
F. J. KINGSBURY, Waterbury, Conn.
DR. J. M. BUCKLEY, New York.
JOHN W. CARTER, Boston.
CHARLES A. COLLIN, Ithaca, N.Y.
SEYMOUR DEXTER, Elmira, N.Y.
E. J. JAMES, Philadelphia.
JOHN L. MILLIGAN, Allegheny, Pa.
S. M. HOTCHKISS, Hartford, Ct.
W. D. FOULKE, Richmond, Ind.

Department Officers.

I. *Education.*— *Chairman;* L, F. BRYSON, M.D., 38 West 38th Street, New York, *Secretary.*

II. *Health.*—FREDERICK PETERSON, M.D., 201 West 54th Street, New York, *Chairman;* W. D. GRANGER, M.D., Bronxville, N.Y., *Secretary.*

III. *Finance.*—F. J. KINGSBURY, Waterbury, Conn., *Chairman;* JOHN W. CARTER, Boston, *Secretary.*

IV. *Social Economy.*—F. B. SANBORN, Concord, *Chairman;* JOSEPH LEE, Brookline, Mass., *Secretary.*

V. *Jurisprudence.*—Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, *Chairman;* C. LARUE MUNSON, Williamsport, Penn., *Secretary.*

Executive Committee.

H. L. WAYLAND, *President;* F. B. SANBORN, *General Secretary;* ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *Treasurer;* Dr. L. F. BRYSON, *Education Secretary;* Dr. F. PETERSON, *Health Chairman;* Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, *Jurisprudence Chairman;* F. J. KINGSBURY, *Finance Chairman;* JOSEPH LEE, *Social Economy Secretary.*

[During the expected absence of the General Secretary in Europe, after November 5, his address will be care of Baring Brothers, London; and Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Jr., of Concord, will be Acting Secretary.]

SIR DANIEL WILSON.

Died at Toronto, Canada, Aug. 6, 1892, Sir Daniel Wilson, LL.D., F.R.S.E., member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Honorary Member of the *American Social Science Association* and of the *American Association for the Advancement of Science*, etc., etc., and President of the University of Toronto.

What Sir Daniel Wilson *did*, it is not difficult to record: what he *was*, it is almost impossible to estimate.

When he came to Canada at the age of thirty-seven, in the year 1853, he created at once a profound impression. Admiration of his rare natural gifts and his great attainments, scientific and literary, was mixed with a not unnatural curiosity as to what had brought him. How could London or Edinburgh spare such a son? He brought with him many testimonials to the position he had won, among them a solid silver service from the Archæological Society of Scotland. Lord Elgin was just appointed Governor-General, and one of his first duties was the building up of the University of Toronto. This institution had been magnificently endowed in the interest of the Church of England, in 1843. The endowment led to the immediate formation of similar institutions in the interest of the Wesleyans and Presbyterians, and a bitter political struggle began. The result was the secularization of the University of Toronto. It was denuded of its Theological Faculty, the Professorships of Law and Medicine were abolished; and, while the College was made a teaching institution for the Faculty of Arts, the University continued to exist only to carry on the examinations and confer degrees.

It was the historian Hallam who, in 1852, directed the attention of Lord Elgin to the brilliant young man, whose name was already known throughout Europe; and a few interviews induced Lord Elgin to insist on Wilson's accompanying him to Canada.

Daniel Wilson was born in Edinburgh on the 5th of January, 1816. He was the second son of Janet Aitkin and Archibald Wilson, a prominent merchant.* Archibald Wilson must have

* Daniel Wilson came of a distinguished family, Professor George Wilson, the well-known chemist, who wrote the Life of Edward Forbes, was his brother, while his sister Jessie, who wrote the life of her brother George, is the wife of James Sime, the author of a Life of Lessing.

died young, for his son was accustomed to speak of his own early years as years of privation and hard work. He was educated at the famous High School of his native city, and went from that to its University. As soon as he was graduated, he went to London, and did not return to Edinburgh until he came ten years later, crowned with honors won in its crowded streets. He used to point to a long row of small volumes on a retired shelf as the "pot-boilers" of this period, and confessed that there were many more of which he could not even remember the names. American children found among them, with delight, their favorite translation of the "Swiss Family Robinson." At this early age he was a welcome contributor to all the magazines, both Scotch and English, and, as long as he lived, to every edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. On many subjects he was a recognized authority. During his ten years in London he was known as a most skilful draughtsman and engraver. After the death of Walter Scott a memorial edition of the Waverley Novels was issued. It was a folio, splendidly illustrated, and consisted of five hundred copies. The drawings and engravings were a free gift to the publishers, a labor of love on the part of the artists. Daniel Wilson contributed a drawing of Holyrood, and engraved it himself. The drawing, which has been long in my possession, always arrests the attention of connoisseurs.

He had received the degree of LL.D. from Aberdeen before coming to Canada, and had won his spurs by the publication of the first edition of "The Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time." His "Life of Cromwell" was followed by a "Life of Chatterton," and by "Caliban, a Shakespearean Study." Then came "Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh," his "Anthropology," "The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," and later his "Prehistoric Man." This was followed by that delightful work of love, the Memoir of his early friend, William Nelson. Just before his death he published an interesting monograph on "Left-handedness." He was knighted by the queen in 1888, and in 1890 published the second *authorized* edition of the "Memorials of Edinburgh," fully illustrated by his own hand.

The original edition having been published in 1847, Dr. Wilson interleaved a copy at once, and began to correct errors, annotate questions, and prepare for a new edition. Absorbed in college work, he was ignorant of the expiration of his copyright, and in 1872 had been shocked by the appearance of an edition which he

had not authorized, about which he had never been consulted, and which not only perpetuated some early mistakes, but added to their number through the presumption of an incompetent editor. It was not until Adam and Charles Black offered him the supervision of a new edition that Sir Daniel's dearest friends became fully aware how he had suffered from this outrage. The Black's edition was issued in 1890, enriched by new drawings and characteristic sketches, contributed by his early friend, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp.

He returned to Edinburgh often during his last years, renewing his intercourse with Lord Tennyson, the Duke of Northumberland, and his cousin, Mrs. Oliphant, whose great powers as a novelist and a woman of business he had been among the first to acknowledge. On his last visit he had the pleasure of seeing St. Margaret's Chapel in the Castle at Edinburgh, the oldest building in his native city, fully restored after his own plans and drawings, executed with scant expectation that such a work would be undertaken in his lifetime. It was done with the consent of the city by his friend, William Nelson, at an expense of £10,000. In the summer of 1891 the "Freedom of the City" in a costly silver box was presented to him with suitable ceremony.

This is an incomplete summary of his literary work, but those who can remember the Canada of 1853 will never forget the momentum that his associations and his character imparted to its intellectual life. His dignified and alert presence, his elastic step, the enthusiasm which kindled the aspirations of others, could not go unmarked; but there were few persons in the Province at that time capable of estimating the man. Canada knew him not for what he was, but as her most prominent educational force. He has made the University of Toronto what it now is, the leader in all intelligent, intellectual effort, and has opened the vista for all coming years. In this University he accepted, at Lord Elgin's instance, the Professorship of History and English Literature. His breadth, liberality, and tolerance made themselves felt at once, but as an Examiner he distanced all competition. The methods he introduced forty years ago are still pursued by Professors who were once his students. The quiet of his scholarly life was, however, often rudely disturbed. In a sharp contest before Parliament with Dr. Ryerson, the Minister of Education, in which he acted as Counsel for the University at the request of the College, he defeated the appeal for the subdivision of the endowment. He did

more than any other man to overturn the denominational influence in education, and pursued the interests of his trust with a vigor and activity peculiar to himself. In 1881 he succeeded Dr. M'Caul, the first President of the College. The ten years which followed were marked by an extraordinary advance. The Medical School has been restored, and the Faculty of Arts had in 1891 five hundred pupils. A foundation for a Law School has been laid by an ingenious use of the Department of Political Science, and the University has been led to co-operate in the examinations of the Secondary Schools. For six years women have been admitted to the College and the University, and now constitute one-fifth of the whole number of students. Sir Daniel resisted the entrance of women for some years, until he could adjust it in what he considered a perfectly safe manner; and that led to the unwarranted conclusion that he was opposed to their Higher Education. Six years ago the Hon. George W. Ross, who had succeeded to the office once held by Dr. Ryerson, called for a Conference on University Federation. All the Universities were represented, and Sir Daniel had the delight of seeing a beautiful structure erected in Queen's Park for the accommodation of Victoria's staff and students. He became himself the President of the new University with its federated colleges. During all this time he was exercising a steady local influence in politics, education, and philanthropy. He had been made one of the Foreign Associates of the Anthropological Society of Paris. He was President of the Canadian Institute, and in 1882 was named by the Marquis of Lorne as Vice-President of the Literary Section of the Royal Society of Canada, and in 1885 became its President. He edited for years the "Canadian Institute," and the "Transactions" of the Royal Society. The press of Canada in general has borne witness for forty years to his untiring industry. The enthusiasm he kindled in his students has been noiselessly but steadily uplifting all Canadian life for the last quarter of a century.

A nobler influence still he steadily exerted. He was a thoroughly Christian man, but not a bigot. He was once hissed in a public meeting for deprecating the use of the word "dissenter." "We have no established church in Canada," he said: "the term is inapplicable, and needlessly offensive." He was one of the founders of Wycliffe College, was for some years President of the Young Men's Christian Association, and devoted a great deal of time to the "Newsboys' Home." It was a pleasure to watch him in his

half-humorous intercourse with its inmates, and it never occurred to him to relinquish his visits in order to sustain his dignity as the President of a University.

On the 14th of February, 1890, the University of Toronto was burned to the ground. How could he bear it, this man of seventy-four? There was no need to wait for his first letter. Events told the story. A waiter had fallen with a tray of lighted kerosene lamps, prepared for a college festivity. The woodwork had been lately oiled. For the moment no water was available. The President was one of the first to reach the spot. His elastic figure was easily recognized, as, hurrying from point to point, he took direction, and brought order out of chaos. When he went home at midnight, he left only blackened walls behind him. Before he slept he had matured his plan of action. "The building is gone," he said to his daughter as he entered the house. "Never mind, it was far too small for us: we shall soon have a better." He was full of hope and energy,—not for one moment "shattered," as all had feared and some have since said. No *young* man could have rebuilt that University within a year. "I know," writes his only surviving daughter, "that on Saturday, February 15, he went at once to the Legislature, and asked for a grant, which was given; then with the Vice-Chancellor to several wealthy citizens to ask for donations; to various affiliated colleges round about to ask for the use of rooms. At five in the same afternoon he met the members of the Faculty, and made all the arrangements for the following Monday, February 17. Lectures began at nine o'clock on that day, in rooms which he had already secured. We were very proud that not one lecture was missed."

But his life-work was imperilled, if not destroyed. The task before him was a heavy one, for a man of his years and delicate structure. Not a word was heard of his personal loss. With the lectures of forty years in the two departments he had never relinquished had gone the boxes of precious correspondence, the holographs and exquisite drawings which he had brought with him in 1853. We remembered the tributes from the world's wisest and best, which he could hardly be prevailed upon to show, but which were, nevertheless, dear to his heart, and deposited in the College for safe keeping! If he remembered, he did not speak. At the Convocation in June, 1891, he rose in the midst of a vast throng assembled in the Hall of Practical Science, and announced his work complete. His words found a happy echo in the strokes of

the mallets and hammers wielded by the workmen on the new building. The platform was gay with colored hoods and scarfs designating the various colleges and departments. The students greeted him after the rollicking fashion of Oxford and Cambridge with the time-honored chorus, "He's a jolly good fellow, good fellow," and their deep and tender feeling conferred dignity upon the words. He stood there tall and spare, white-bearded, his piercing but kindly eyes glowing beneath the gray overhanging brows. Erect, proud, exultant, he stood; for he knew that, if he died on the morrow, his life-work was secure. Would that we had space for his words of lofty cheer!

He continued to labor. In January, 1892, a severe attack of pneumonia and congestion prostrated him, and his life was despaired of. Devoted nursing and medical skill pulled him through. On the 10th of June, 1892, the scene of 1891 was repeated. This year Sir Daniel spoke few words, but those few were characteristic. Very frail he seemed, nor did his voice penetrate far; but those who sat near felt themselves deeply moved by its benign intonations. After the services he showed us through the beautiful buildings which had replaced the old, and pointed out the fine library building in process of erection. He showed us the ladies' rooms, and said proudly that not the smallest irregularity had occurred during the seven years that had elapsed since the admission of women. On Tuesday, the 15th, we parted with our dear friend. He seemed bright and well. He went to Montreal on Friday, and encountered some malarious influence, came home and struggled against it for a fortnight. A turbulent meeting of the Senate, which lasted until two in the morning, took his last remaining strength; and early in July he went to his bed. Whatever disease he had had was conquered, but life ebbed away. Toward the last he asked to have his bed moved into his library; and there on the 6th of August, surrounded by the mute companions of his life, he peacefully breathed his last. His great work had been accomplished through the love he inspired, quite as much as by the executive power which devised and ordered it. He was buried on the 8th from St. Philip's Church, and his body lies in St. James Cemetery. The procession consisted of all the educational dignitaries, with others from the United States, and all the officers of the government who could be reached.

In 1854, when Sir Daniel had accepted his position in Toronto,

his wife and two daughters joined him. His wife, Margaret Mackay, who was, as he said, the "sunshine" of his life, died suddenly in 1885. His eldest daughter married a Captain Bell of the 47th Regiment, and died in 1872, leaving one son, Oswald George Wilson. The younger daughter survives her father.

CAROLINE HEALEY DALL.

BOSTON, October 3, 1892.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

The death of our associate of many years, Mr. Curtis, occurred during the session at Saratoga, and was duly noticed by vote of the Association. But something more seems called for by the eminent position and illustrious character of the deceased, who held to us a peculiar relation, not yet much dwelt upon in the numerous and cordial tributes to his memory which have been published since his death. It was as a member and officer of our Association that Mr. Curtis engaged, many years since, in that effort to reform the civil service of the United States, in which he became so conspicuous, and the results of which are already seen to be so important. As Mr. Curtis himself bore witness, the public movement for this great change in official life was commenced by our Association, and was carried on by us for several years before it attracted much notice from the public at large. Indeed, one of the papers read at our first general meeting in Boston (December, 1865) was on the subject of Civil Service Reform in England, where it was then a new measure, and was encountering the same opposition, from interested or conservative persons, which it encountered in this country ten years later, and which the high reputation and disinterested service of Mr. Curtis did so much to overcome. And it was by meetings held in several American cities, while Dr. Samuel Eliot was President of our Association, that Mr. Jenckes of Rhode Island, who introduced in Congress the first bill to remove our civil service from the contaminating influence of political partisans, was early brought to the notice of the community,— receiving thus a support which was of much value in the subsequent steps of legislation, by which this desirable end was at last partially attained.

Mr. Curtis came to the Presidency of our Association while this movement — now so widely successful that all political parties are compelled to do homage to its principles, however much they may obstruct and distort the application of it — was in its early stages, and needed a strong hand to support it, both in the councils of the dominant political party and in the newspaper press of the country. He was able to effect much in both these directions, and it was as the recognized head of the movement that President Grant

made him Chairman of the first National Commission to reform our civil service. He was not sustained by the national administration, nor by his own political party, in this thankless and difficult position, as he should have been; but he was still able to give that direction and energy to the movement which made it impossible in after years to defeat or pervert its operation. Our own members watched its progress with constant support and furtherance; and it was no doubt partly on this account that its numberless enemies found themselves unable to resist a measure steadily advocated by persons having no selfish purpose to serve, and appealing so strongly to the better instincts of the American people.

On the 19th of December, 1871, President Grant sent to Congress a special message accompanying the report of the first Civil Service Commission appointed in the United States, of which Mr. Curtis was the Chairman. The other members, as originally appointed, were Joseph Medill of Chicago, Alexander G. Cattell of New Jersey, Dawson A. Walker of Pennsylvania, and E. B. Elliott and Joseph H. Blackfan of Washington,— the latter being officials in the government service, one in the Treasury, and the other in the Post-office Department. In transmitting Mr. Curtis's first report, President Grant said: —

> Being desirous of bringing this subject to the attention of Congress before the approaching recess, I have not time to sufficiently examine the accompanying report to enable me to suggest definite legislative action to insure the support which may be necessary in order to give a thorough trial to a policy long needed. I ask for all the strength which Congress can give me to enable me to carry out the reforms in the civil service recommended by the commissioners, and adopted, to take effect on Jan. 1, 1872.

This emphatic approval by the President of the early work done by Mr. Curtis was, of course, very gratifying to our associate; and in transmitting to Dr. Eliot, then President of our Association, this message and his own report, he wrote as follows (Dec. 20, 1871): —

> The Social Science Association has a very large share in the result of yesterday,—the message of the President, announcing the Civil Service Reform,—and I send you with all my heart one of the earliest copies of the report upon which I can lay my hand.

In the report itself Mr. Curtis thus gave expression for the first time to what has become the settled judgment of the country in

regard to the evil which was then to be corrected, and which has not yet by any means been wholly removed. He said: —

Our system of the civil service courts waste. It violates the fundamental principles of thrift and economy; it fosters personal and political corruption; it paralyzes legislative honor and vigilance; it weakens and degrades official conduct; it tempts dangerous ambition; and, by poisoning the springs of moral action, it vitiates the character of the people and endangers the national prosperity and permanence. . . . Nothing so surely fosters political corruption as the system which makes the civil service a party prize, and convulses the country every four years with a desperate strife for office. We do not, indeed, suppose that the adoption of any rules, however skilfully framed, would at once remedy the evils in the civil service which are universally acknowledged; and experience will doubtless show how every method of reform may be improved. But these evils will certainly not be remedied without an effort. Those who are content to demand civil service reform, but who oppose every practical attempt to promote it, must be suspected of having little real hostility to the system which they decry. Fortunately, however, public opinion was never more resolutely turned to the subject, and there was never a more favorable moment to begin the reform.

Largely in consequence of his unselfish labors in this good cause, we elected Mr. Curtis President of the Association in the year 1873; and in his annual address from our platform, in May, 1874, he thus remarked on the part taken by us in the same cause: —

As an illustration of the subjects of our interest, I may cite one in which I have been myself deeply interested, the reform of the civil service. The Association in some of its earliest meetings, and by the warm urgency of my honored predecessor, Mr. Samuel Eliot, considered this subject; and it is an admirable illustration of the value of this platform. For, unlike the platforms of political parties which have declared for it, this platform means upon that subject exactly what it says. It is a political subject, but is in no sense partisan: it is especially patriotic. We have urged and still urge it upon the grounds both of the greater efficiency and economy of the service and the purification of politics which must result. As the great political evil of the times is corruption, every good citizen is morally bound to consider the methods of withstanding it. And, as no single, practical measure would do so much to remedy that corruption by destroying its machinery and introducing better methods, the reform of the civil service is especially one of the subjects for the consideration of which this Association exists.

The work to which Mr. Curtis thus pledged himself, and which he had actively taken up in the early part of 1871, was never deserted by him, even when those who had made use of his services were disposed to abandon it. President Grant had practically withdrawn from its support in 1873; and it was therefore at its lowest point of depression that Mr. Curtis, in the spring of 1874, had uttered the words just quoted. Our Association kept up the contest, and was enabled to carry on the standard until two special societies — the New York Civil Service Reform Association, formed in 1877, and the National Civil Service Reform League, organized in 1881, of both of which Mr. Curtis was the President — came forward to perform more actively the task for which our Association was not so well adapted. As President of these societies, Mr. Curtis was in correspondence with all official persons who were inclined to favor the reform. At each annual meeting he gave an address in which he reckoned up the losses and the gains to his chosen cause. And in his last address, in 1891, he had the satisfaction of showing that already more than thirty-six thousand national offices had been redeemed from the spoils system, and made subject to competitive examination and promotion; while thirteen thousand more in the State of New York, either under State law or city ordinance, had been placed on the same sound footing, and in other States, particularly in Massachusetts, perhaps ten thousand more. Such was the reward of his twenty years' labor in this field of his activity.

But this was only one of the many tasks which he undertook. Although not a member of our Department of Education, he had rendered for many years services much greater to the general cause of public instruction than most of our members had the opportunity of doing. Ever since 1864 he was active in the Board of Regents of the State of New York; and, as Chancellor of the University which these Regents represent,— an ideal university, having no buildings, but only excellent methods,— he mediated between the large universities and the smaller colleges and academies so numerous in the State of New York. Nothing connected with education was foreign to him. And so it was owing to his efforts and those of his friends that the little rural academy at Ashfield in Massachusetts, where he had his summer home, was rescued from decay, and placed upon such a footing as to keep up its modest work for the higher education of boys and girls among the New England hills.

George William Curtis was born in Providence, R.I., Feb. 24, 1824; was educated near Boston up to the age of fifteen, and afterwards for three or four years among the Transcendentalists of Brook Farm and Concord, where he formed the acquaintance of all those men and women among whom his lot was afterwards cast as a reformer and man of letters. His active life may be said to have begun while he was tilling the ground at Brook Farm, or in the meadows and orchards of Concord; but, before engaging actively in a literary career, he spent four years in Europe, from 1846 to 1850, and there saw the rise and fall of the Revolutions of 1848–49, with whose object, in liberalizing government, he fully sympathized. Returning home, he soon found himself engaged in the corresponding revolution here, which after fifteen years terminated in the enfranchisement of a servile race, and the restoration of our government to the function for which it was destined by Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson. Hardly had this long struggle ended and the fruits of the Civil War been gathered, when he began that contest for reforming the civil service which has just been mentioned. And from that struggle, with its attendant efforts in behalf of honest and honorable government, Mr. Curtis was only discharged by death. He died at his home in Staten Island, Aug. 31, 1892, lamented by all who had ever known him, and leaving a place vacant in our ranks which none of the living would deem themselves capable of filling. F. B. S.

Concord, Oct. 17, 1892.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of Social Science. Containing the transactions of the American Association. Nos. I.–V., 8vo, paper, each $1.50. Nos. VI.–XXIX., each $1.00.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWO.—Current Record of the Association. I. Immigration—Frederick Kapp. II. The American Census—James A. Garfield. III. The Mode of Procedure in Cases of Contested Elections—Henry L. Dawes. IV. The Public Charities of the State of New York—Theodore W. Dwight. V. The Public Libraries of the United States—Ainsworth R. Spofford. VI. The Science of Transportation—Joseph D. Potts. VII. Vaccination—A Report presented by Francis Bacon, William A. Hammond, and David F. Lincoln. VIII. The Election of Presidents—Charles Francis Adams, Jr. IX. Life Insurance—Sheppard Homans. X. The Administration of Criminal Justice—George C. Barrett. XI. Health Laws and their Administration—Elisha Harris. XII. An International Code—D. D. Field. XIII. General Intelligence. XIV. Constitution. XV. List of New Members. XVI. List of Works relating to Social Science published in 1869.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THREE.—I. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns—F. L. Olmsted. II. Art Education in America—C. C. Perkins. III. Civilization and Health—Francis Bacon. IV. American System of Patents—S. A. Duncan. V. Nature and Sphere of Police Power—T. D. Woolsey. VI. Legislation and Social Science—E. L. Godkin. VII. Representation of Minorities—D. D. Field. VIII. Relations of Business Men to National Legislation—H. A. Hill. IX. Houses in the Country for Working Men—G. B. Emerson. X. Minority Representation in Europe—Thomas Hare. XI. Application of Mr. Hare's System of Voting to the Nomination of Overseers of Harvard College—W. R. Ware. XII. General Intelligence. 1. Home. 2. Foreign.

NUMBER FOUR is out of print, as well as NUMBERS ONE, THREE, EIGHT, and NINE.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIVE.—I. Municipal Government—Dorman B. Eaton. II. Higher Education of Women—T. W. Higginson. III. Restoration of the Currency—Joseph S. Ropes. IV. Some Results of the Census—Francis A. Walker. V. Public Vaccination—F. P. Foster. VI. The International—David A. Wasson. VII. Legislation in Relation to Pharmacy—G. F. H. Markoe. VIII. General Intelligence.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIX.—General Meeting at New York. I. Opening Address—George William Curtis. II. The Work of Social Science in the United States—F. B. Sanborn. III. Financial Administration—G. Bradford. IV. Conference of the Boards of Public Charities. V. Pauperism in the City of New York. VI. The Farmers' Movement in the Western States—Willard C. Flagg. VII. Ocean Lanes for Steamship Navigation—Prof. B. Peirce. VIII. Rational Principles of Taxation—David A. Wells. IX. American Railroads—Gardiner G. Hubbard. X. Reformation of Prisoners—Z. R. Brockway. XI. The Deaf-mute College at Washington—Edward M. Gallaudet. XII. The Protection of Animals—George T. Angell. XIII. American Finance—Prof. W. G. Sumner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVEN.—I. Private Property upon the Sea—Rev. Dr. Woolsey. II. Conference of Boards of Health. III. (School Hygiene)—Drs. D. F. Lincoln and A. L. Carroll. IV. Tent Hospitals—Dr. J. F. Jenkins. V. National, State, and Sectarian Universities—A. D. White and Dr. McCosh. VI. Free Lending Libraries—W. W. Greenough. VII. The Young Men's Christian Association—Cephas Brainard. VIII. Ocean Lanes. IX. Prison Reform in Europe and America—Dr. Wines and F. B. Sanborn. X. Social Science Record. XI. Conference of Boards of Charities.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHT.—I. The Production and Distribution of Wealth—David A. Wells. II. The Work of Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. III. Progress in International Law—J. B. Angell. IV. The Experiment of Civil Service Reform—Dorman B. Eaton. V. The Treatment of the Guilty—W. G. Eliot. VI. Health in Schools—Drs. D. F. Lincoln, J. J. Putnam, etc. VII. Financial Policy of England and the United States—G. Bradford. VIII. Limitations of Judicial Power—Emory Washburn. IX. Life Insurance for the Poor—Elizur Wright and Sheppard Homans. X. Legal Education—W. G. Hammond. XI. The Detroit Meeting.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINE.—I. Social Science in Theory and Practice—F. B. Sanborn. II. The Silver Question—W. Stanley Jevons. III. The Silver Question—B. F. Nourse. IV. Savings Banks—John P. Townsend. V. Local Taxation—William Minot, Jr. VI.

Industrial and Social Aspects of the Southern Question — W. L. Trenholm. VII. Education in the Southern States — T. M. Logan. VIII. The Navigation Laws of Great Britain and the United States — Hamilton A. Hill. IX. The Tariff Question — Horace White. X. Custom House Forms — Henry D. Hyde. XI. State and Municipal Government — Samuel Bowles. XII. Municipal Economy — Daniel L. Harris.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TEN.—Transactions of the Association, 1879. I. American Education, 1878–79. Annual Address of President Gilman. II. The Method of Study in Social Science — William T. Harris. III. Report of the Department of Education — Mrs. I. T. Talbot. IV. The Voting of Women in School Elections — A. P. Peabody. V. Relations of Christianity to the Common Law — M. B. Anderson. VI. The Place of the Practical Man in American Public Affairs — Hamilton Andrews Hill. VII. Chinese Immigration — S. Wells Williams. VIII. The United States and the Declaration of Paris — Theodore S. Woolsey. IX. Recent Changes in our State Constitutions — Simeon E. Baldwin. X. The Policy of Patent Laws — Frederic H. Betts. XI. The Sewerage of the Smaller Towns — George E. Waring, Jr. XII. Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation — Joseph D. Weeks.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER ELEVEN.—Report of the Annual Meeting, 1880. List of Members. I. Southern Questions: 1. The Negro Exodus from the Gulf States — Frederick Douglass. 2. The Emigration of Colored Citizens from the Southern States — R. T. Greener. 3. Colored Schools in Virginia — Mrs. Orra Langhorne. II. Recent Changes in the West — Robert P. Porter. III. A Report on Protection from Casualties in the Use of Machinery — Professor William Watson. IV. International Coinage — Robert Noxon Toppan. V. Social Economy Papers: 1. Report of the Department of Social Economy — F. B. Sanborn. 2. The Care of Poor and Vicious Children — Charles L. Brace. 3. Social Economy in Illinois — Mrs. Harbert. 4. Co-operative Distribution — William A. Hovey. 5. Co-operation in England — James Samuelson. Saratoga Papers of 1877: 1. Extradition — Sheldon Amos. 2. Graduate Courses at Law Schools — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWELVE.—Professor Peirce's Cincinnati Address: The National Importance of Social Science in the United States. President Gilman's Opening Address. Report of the General Secretary, by F. B. Sanborn. Report of the Treasurer and Publication Committee: Professor Wayland and F. B. Sanborn. Papers of the Education Department: I. Report on Kindergarten Schools — Professor Harris, Mrs. Talbot. II. The Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools — Samuel S. Green. III. Educational Progress in England — Miss Edith Simcox. IV. Home Life in some of its Relations to Schools — Miss Mary W. Hinman. V. The American Newspaper and American Education — Dr. J. M. Gregory. Libel and its Legal Remedy — E. L. Godkin. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Associated Charities. A. The Principle and Advantage of Association in Charities — Rev. D. O. Kellogg. B. General and Special Methods of Operation — Rev. O. C. McCulloch. C. The Need and Work of Volunteer Visitors — R. T. Paine, Jr. D. The Care and Saving of Neglected Children — Miss Anna Hallowell. II. The Principle of Volunteer Service — Mrs. Florence Bayard Lockwood. III. The Recreations of the People — George B. Bartlett. IV. The Justifying Value of a Public Park — F. L. Olmsted. Constitution, Officers, and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTEEN.—Order of Business at Saratoga in 1881. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: I. Pensions in a Republic — Frederick J. Kingsbury. II. Modern Legislation touching Marital Property Rights — Henry Hitchcock, LL.D. III. The German Socialist Law of Oct. 21, 1878 — Henry W. Farnam. IV. The Study of Anatomy, Historically and Legally Considered — Edward Mussey Hartwell, M.A. Papers of the Health Department: I. The Treatment of Insanity in its Economic Aspect — Walter Channing, M.D. II. Adulterations in Food — Professor S. W. Johnson. Debate on Adulterations. Remarks of George T. Angell. General Papers: I. Christianity and the Relations of Nations — Charles L. Brace. II. Indeterminate Sentences and their Results in New York — Z. R. Brockway. III. Changes in American Society — Julia Ward Howe. Appendix; Infant Development.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FOURTEEN.—I. The General Meeting of 1881. Death of President Garfield. II. Opening Address of Professor Wayland, President of the Association. III. The Threefold Aspect of Social Science. Report of the General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn. IV. Civil Service Reform, an address by George W. Curtis. V. The American Newspaper — Charles Dudley Warner. VI. Prohibitory Legislation — P. Emory Aldrich. VII. Province of Legislation in the Suppression of Intemperance — F. W. Bird. VIII. License and Prohibition — Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. IX. The Moral Statistics of the United States — Dr. Woolsey. X. Divorce Laws — Professor W. C. Robinson. XI. Lax Divorce Legislation — Rev. S. W. Dike. XII. Address on Health and Insanity — Walter Channing, M.D. XIII. Women Practising Medicine — Dr. E. F. Pope. XIV. Constitution, List of Members, Officers, and Committees of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIFTEEN.—I. Papers on Infant Development — Professor Harris, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Alcott, Dr. Preyer, M. Taine, etc. II. Report of Mrs. Talbot. III. Religious and Moral Education of Children — Professor G. S. Hall. IV. Treatment of Incipient Insanity — Mary Putnam-Jacobi, M.D. V. Debate on Insanity — Professor W. T. Harris, Dr. Channing, F. B. Sanborn, etc. VI. Papers on Building Associations — R. T. Paine, Jr., and Addison B. Burk. VII. Homes for the People in Washington — John Hitz. VIII. Art in its Relation to the People — Martin Brimmer.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIXTEEN.— Papers of the Health Department: I. Address of the Chairman — Walter Channing, M.D. II. The Michigan Plan for Boards of Health — Dr. Henry B. Baker. III. The Health Care of Households with Special Reference to House Drain-

age — Ezra M. Hunt, M.D. IV. The Health of Boys' Boarding-schools — D. F. Lincoln, M.D. V. The Health of Criminal Women — Eliza M. Mosher, M.D. VI. The Management of Chronic Inebriates and Insane Drunkards — Albert N. Blodgett, M.D. VII. Remarks of Mr. Parker on Boards of Health. VIII. International and National Relief in War — Miss Clara Barton. Papers of the Social Economy Department: I. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. II. The Factory System as an Element in Civilization — Carroll D. Wright. III. Early Factory Life in New England — Mrs. H. H. Robinson. IV. American Factory Life — Miss Lucy Larcom. V. Ten Hours — Rev. Jesse H. Jones.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVENTEEN. — I. Introduction. II. Address — Rev. A. D. Mayo, on National Aid to Education. III. Address — President Angell, on Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department, namely: 1. Professional Ethics — Theodore Bacon. 2. Local Self-government — Edward W. Bemis. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime — James F. Colby. 4. A Plan for Extinguishing Crime — Edwin Hill. 5. Punishment for Certain Crimes — H. A. Hill. V. Address — Professor W. T. Harris. VI. The Darwin Commemoration. VII. A Paper on the Progressive Spelling — Rev. H. L. Wayland. VIII. Miscellaneous Matters.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHTEEN. — I. Introductory. II. Opening Address — Professor Wayland. III. Report of the General Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. IV. Papers on Health and Education: 1. Health and Social Science — Dr. E. M. Hunt. 2. Physical Training in Homes and Training-schools — Professor D. A. Sargent. 3. True Higher Education — W. C. Thomas. 4. Causes of Insanity — Dr. W. Channing. 5. Inebriety in Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 6. The Disease of Inebriety — Dr. T. D. Crothers. 7. House-building and Drainage — G. E. Waring, Jr. 8. Moral Education in Schools — Professor W. T. Harris. V. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. Assertion of Rights — J. T. Platt. 2. International Ethics — E. M. Gallaudet, LL.D. 3. Legal History of the Telephone — M. F. Tyler. VI. Addresses and Special Papers: 1. American Civil Service System — J. M. Gregory, LL.D. 2. Public Libraries — J. M. Larned. 3. Religion of India — Mr. Mozoomdar. 4. New Methods of Study in History — H. B. Adams. VII. Papers of the Social Economy Department, namely: 1. Race Problems in the United States — Professor C. A. Gardner. 2. Relations between Employers and Employed — Mrs. S. K. Bolton. 3. Child-helping in New York — C. L. Brace. 4. Prison Labor.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINETEEN. — I. Introductory. II. Report of the Secretary — F. B. Sanborn. III. Papers of the Finance Department: 1. Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation — C. D. Wright. 2. Financial Standing of States — Henry C. Adams. 3. The Rate of Wages — Edward Atkinson. 4. Industrial Education — F. A. Walker. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Conflict of State Laws — Eugene Smith. 2. The Pardoning Power — F. Wayland. 3. Threefold Basis of the Criminal Law — F. H. Wines. V. Hebrew Charities — Mary M. Cohen. VI. Constitution and Members of the Association.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY. — I. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Function of Latin and Greek in Education — Dr. W. T. Harris. 2. Problems in Education — Mrs. Emily Talbot. 3. Athletic Education — Dr. Edward Hitchcock. 4. Physical Education in Women's Colleges — Mrs. R. S. Bryan. 5. The Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland — Miss Lumsden. II. Additional Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Law for the Commitment of Lunatics — Mr. F. H. Wines. 2. Lunacy Legislation in the North-west — Professor A. O. Wright. III. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Dr. Sargent's Summary. 2. Tenement Houses — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. IV. The Civil Service in States and Cities — Edward M. Shepard.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-ONE. — 1. President Eaton's Address, 1885. 2. Business and Debates of 1885. 3. Synopsis of Social Science Instruction in Colleges. 4. Methodical Education in Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. 5. Social Science and Social Conditions — W. T. Harris. 6. The Unnamed Third Party — H. L. Wayland. 7. Socialism and State Action — Edward W. Bemis. 8. Labor Unions under Democratic Government — D. M. Means. 9. Influence of City Life on Health and Development — Dr. G. Peckham. 10. The Health of American Cities — C. F. Wingate. 11. The Physical Training of Women — Dr. L. M. Hall. 12. The Constitution and National Development — E. V. Reynolds. 13. Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians — President Gates. 14. Arbitration of Labor Disputes — Rev. W. Gladden. 15. The Place of Art in Education — Thomas Davidson. 16. The Relation of the Drama to Education — W. O. Partridge. 17. Child-life in City and Country — C. D. Kellogg. 18. City and Country Schools — W. M. Beckner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-TWO. — Conference of Alienists. Business and Debates of 1886. Notice of Deceased Members. I. Papers of the Department of Education: 1. The Definition of Social Science and its Classification — W. T. Harris. 2. Social Science Instruction in Colleges — Mrs. Emily Talbot and W. T. Harris. 3. Popular Instruction in Social Science — Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers of the Department of Health. 1. The Nervousness of Americans — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. Mineral Waters of America and Europe — T. M. Coan, M.D. 3. Rabies and How to Prevent it — Valentine Mott, M.D. 4. Noses — H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D. 5. The Science of Dietetics — Wallace Wood, M.D. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman: Labor and Capital — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Property — Thomas Davidson. 3. Letters of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Wayland. 4. The Right of Property in Land — W. T. Harris, LL.D. IV. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department. 1. Postal Savings Banks — Dr. H. L. Wayland. 2. How to deal with Habitual Criminals — Professor S. E. Baldwin.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE.— Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President: Problems of the Census — Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor — F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments — A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered — G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations — J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question — Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury — D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty — Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incorrigible — Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State — H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses — H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR.— Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs — D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal — Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type — William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases — C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address — T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges — Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women — Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE.— General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor — Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree — Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education? — W. A. Purrington. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education Antecedent to the Study of Medicine — Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations — Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided? — Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States — John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois — Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York — Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations — Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas — Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance — Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States — J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX.— General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly — President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property — George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime — S. T. Dutton. 4. Immigration and Crime — W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand — Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane — Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England — Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN.— General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South — Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate — Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT.— General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations — S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions — S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages — Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut — F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory — Mrs. C. R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration — Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions — George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices — E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia — Dr. Paul Gibier. 2. The Silver Question — J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service — W. D. Foulke.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-NINE.— Introduction. The General Meeting of 1892. The Late Dr. Pliny Earle. I. Summer Camps for Boys — Dr. W. T. Talbot. II. The New York City Health Department — Dr. Cyrus Edson. III. The Tenement House: Its Influence upon the Child — Dr. Mary E. Herrick. IV. The Progress of the Financial Credit of the Government of the United States — Joseph T. Brown. V. Aids in the Study of Social Science — F. B. Sanborn. VI. The Care of Epileptics — Dr. Frederick Peterson.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THIRTY.— President Wayland's Address. General Meeting of 1892. Obituary Notices: Sir Daniel Wilson — Mrs. C. H. Dall. George William Curtis — F. B. Sanborn. I. Miscellaneous Papers: Social Science in the Nineteenth Century — F. B. Sanborn. Art Education in American Life — Miss M. B. Martin. Commitment of the Insane

in New York City — Dr. M. D. Field. County Jails as Reformatory Institutions — E. B. Merrill. American Childhood from a Medical Standpoint — Dr. H. L. Taylor. II. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Sweating in Germany — Rev. J. G. Brooks. 2. The Sweating System in the United Kingdom — D. F. Schloss. 3. Conditions of the Labor of Women and Children in New York — Dr. Anna S. Daniel. 4. The Sweating System in Massachusetts — H. G. Wadlin. 5. Tenement-house Workers in Boston — W. F. Hicks. 6. The Sweating System in General — Joseph Lee. 7. Legislation. — Appendix — Joseph Lee. The Great Coal Combination and the Reading Leases — C. L. Munson. Publications of the American Social Science Association.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890; Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891; and The Sweating System, 1892.

Sold by DAMRELL & UPHAM, Boston; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York; and by

F. B. SANBORN, *Secretary*,
CONCORD, MASS.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A REPORT MADE TO THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION BY F. B. SANBORN, OF CONCORD.

[Read August 30, 1892.]

Members of the Association,— An eminent Frenchman, M. Edward Lockroy, the other day, in an address preceding the distribution of prizes in Paris, made an eloquent eulogy of the Nineteenth Century, now so near its end. He even went so far as to call it "the greatest of all the centuries." However this may be in things which do not so directly concern us here,— in matters of religion, art, geographical discovery, and military conquest,— this compliment is certainly true when we speak of our own broad field of Social Science. Even the title of this federation of sciences — this syndicate of philosophy, economics, philanthropy, ethics, and natural science — is the invention of our century, and was quite unknown to those pioneers of social science, Vico, the Italian, who invented the philosophy of history, Adam Smith, the Scotchman, who invented political economy, as we understand it, and Franklin, the American (greatest of the three), who put social science upon the plainest practical footing, while opening to mankind the broadest theatre for its demonstration, by joining with Washington and Jefferson in laying the foundation of the American Republic. Our awkward name covers an infinitude of indispensable things, most of which have been brought to light in our own century.

Some of my audience may smile at finding Philosophy named as one of the corporate partners in Social Science; but let me remind you that the most illustrious French member of our Association, M. Jules Simon, so distinguished in education, in politics, and in the administration of affairs, began his career, which age is now drawing to a close, as a lecturer at the Sorbonne on the mysticism of Proclus and Plato. I have before me a letter written from Naples in February, 1844, by an American scholar who had lately come from Paris, to one of the professors in Harvard University, in which occurs this interesting passage: —

Jules Simon is not twenty-six years old. I went to his *Salle* half an hour before the time: it was half full then. By and by I heard a step at the private door, and the audience clapped their hands. Then entered a finely formed young man, elegantly dressed, with one of the finest countenances I ever saw,— pale, with deep dark eyes. He looks religious, mystical, and philosophic. He lectured on Proclus and his school,— on the "Mysticism of Proclus, its Origin and Effects,"— when I heard him. He had no notes, but leaned back in his chair, looked up towards the ceiling, then at the audience, then began. His words were musical, his manner perfect. It was the *beau-idéal* of lecturing. He did not quite do justice to Plato,— for he went back to Plato to trace the mystical element in Proclus,— but I never heard or read neater expositions of doctrine than his of Plato's notions of God, though I think them *un peu erronés*.

Such was the man, half a century ago, who has since represented France at half the capitals of Europe, and has had no small share in bringing the French Republic to its present condition of stable equilibrium,— the equilibrium, I mean to say, of the ship which tosses on the waves, but never goes to the bottom. Four years after he was thus heard and described by Theodore Parker, he sat in the Constituent Assembly of 1848, and was a member of the Privy Council of the short-lived Republic in 1849. With the Third Empire, he retired to private life, but reappeared in the French Parliament in 1870, and is now a Senator of France, at the age of seventy-five, but still a journalist. In that capacity he addresses Paris and the world through a column in the *Temps*, which he calls "my little Daily." Recently he said in that, commenting on the epithet given by Lockroy to the Nineteenth Century: —

One fact cannot be disputed,— our century has wrought a revolution more radical and more fruitful than that which closed the eighteenth century,— I mean the scientific revolution. We live in the midst of marvels, and are busy consolidating, organizing, and completing the conquests of science; and the present is so absorbing that we forget even the most recent past. When mankind have time to take breath, let them compare the world of 1792 with the world we see to-day. New York separated from Havre by a three months' voyage; the old-fashioned marine telegraph celebrated, and justly so, as a magnificent victory over time and space; Paris itself half-lighted at night by costly oil lamps; the soil of France cultivated by man in the sweat of his brow, according to the original curse; our fabrics and all customary articles manufactured by hand, and carried, at enormous cost and by great effort, over small distances. . . . But why enter upon a recital which would have to include everything? There was less distance

between the year 1200 and the year 1800 than between 1800 and 1892.

Our Paris Exposition three years ago had a retrospective section, whose object was to represent the past by its masterpieces and in its luxury. There might have been another story told of the past in its wretched poverty; and that would have taught us to understand the grandeur of the work which the scientific men of our century have accomplished. This scientific revolution has not only transformed the material world, but is radically changing the human race. The proclamation of a monarch, issued from Versailles, was not the equivalent of a hundred million newspapers circulated every morning, of daily public meetings, of delegates and commissioners travelling in eight days from one side of the world to the other, or of the instantaneous transmission of thought and purpose by electricity. Revolution, thy true name is Science! and unlike revolutions of philosophy and politics, which are subject to reaction, every step taken by thee is final.

Our illustrious associate, turning aside for a moment to speak of the literary result of the Nineteenth century in France, then goes on to say: —

If I were to assign a place to the Great Perhaps (*le Grand Peut-Etre*), it would be neither in the drama nor in poetry nor in oratory; neither in physics, chemistry, natural history, nor medicine. It would be in philosophy and politics,— two sciences so unlike, if you compare them day by day, and so analogous, when looked at across the distance of ages. I can scarcely believe that our men of 1789 will be surpassed in justice, in equity, in generous ardor, in fraternity, in courage, or in self-sacrifice. Indeed, although I recognize the novelty and greatness of the problems which our times have raised, for the learned and the ignorant, I cannot yet see clearly enough into the future to conjecture whether we are approaching the gloom of night or the splendor of morning.

In this last utterance of misgiving, M. Simon, like our Swiss associate, Professor Secrétan, seems to be disturbed by the threatening aspect which Democracy has assumed in many eyes, when dealing with questions of labor and property. Every thoughtful American must sympathize with this misgiving, when he looks out from any window of impartiality upon the noisy conflicts of labor and capital, long going on, and just now very active in our Republic. It is a conflict older than civilization, and carried back by the philosophers even among the elemental forces of nature; for Emerson says,—

> "In changing moon, in tidal wave,
> Glows the feud of Want and Have."

But I suspect that all the tendencies of civilization, while they concentrate evil as well as good, and often shock us by their rapid and convulsive volcanic discharges, do, on the whole, mitigate and meliorate this natural warfare between those who lack and those who possess; and that Democracy, therefore, the last result of civilization, will furnish a solution for its own problems.

Our century is indeed the infant age of universal Democracy, of which the American and the French Revolutions together were the birth era. A hundred years ago, even in our Republic, where Democracy had its most favorable cradle, there was but little recognition or respect for it among the educated, to whom liberty mainly signified emancipation from the galling yoke of monarchy and aristocracy. That fine old English Tory, Lord Lyndhurst, who was born in Boston, the son of the painter Copley, when a young man, in 1796, revisited his native town, and after talking with the Otises, Phillipses, Russells, and especially George Cabot, wrote home to his mother, herself a Boston woman,—"Samuel Adams is superannuated, unpopular, and fast decaying in every respect. In addition to this, and perhaps on this account, he has taken no notice of me. Shall I whisper a word in your ear? The better people are all aristocrats. My father is too rank a Jacobin to live among them." Three months later, writing from Philadelphia, he said: "I have become a fierce aristocrat. This is the country to cure your Jacobins. Send them over, and they will return quite converted." Now, Adams, who at that time was Governor of Massachusetts, had been the father of the Revolution in New England, and was still in his old age a Democrat; but his cousin, John Adams, who soon became President, though not so bitter an opponent of Democracy as his rival, Hamilton, long favored an aristocratic government. In that entertaining but not always courtly correspondence between John Adams, in 1807, and the sister of James Otis, Mrs. Mercy Warren, who herself inclined to Democracy, she reminds him of a conversation between them in 1788, from which she quotes as follows:—

Mr. Adams.— It does not signify, Mrs. Warren, to talk much of the virtue of Americans. We are like all other people, and shall do like other nations, where all well-regulated governments are monarchic.

Mrs. Warren.— A limited monarchy might be the best government, but it will be long before Americans will be reconciled to the idea of a king.

Mrs. Warren relates another conversation with Mr. Adams at his own house in Quincy, of which she says: "Your ideas appeared to be favorable to monarchy and to an order of nobility in your own country. My husband replied, 'I am thankful that I am a plebeian.' You answered: 'No, sir: you are one of the nobles. There has been a natural aristocracy here ever since the country was settled,— your family at Plymouth, Mrs. Warren's at Barnstable, and many others, in very many places, that have kept up a distinction similar to nobility.'"

This reply of Mr. Adams was strictly true; and these little colloquies indicate very well how far our leading citizens had got at the beginning of this century in the direction of actual Democracy. Even Jefferson, the father of modern Democracy, would have shrunk a little to encounter some of its results, as they have manifested themselves here, and in other countries, since his death in 1826,— if, indeed, they are the result of Democracy, and not a growth of human frailty, taking advantage of a general change from the too arbitrary governments of the past to the moderate and popular systems which an extended suffrage produces. Satirizing the commercial spirit of our century, Emerson once said, "The customer is the immediate jewel of our souls." In our time we might perhaps as truly say that the voter is the immediate jewel of the candidate's soul; and many a turbulent and headstrong voter, though immensely in the minority, has been enabled to carry his point by the more than Chesterfieldian deference which some aspirant to high office has paid to his violence and his nonsense. What would Jefferson have said to our Chinese Exclusion Bill, with its absurd machinery for registration and expulsion? What would he have said to the rioters of Homestead and of Buffalo, who assassinate their fellow-citizens from behind a barricade for the heinous crime either of seeking employment at honest labor or of protecting the property intrusted to their care? He would probably have denied, as I do, that these are the real fruit of Democracy; but they certainly show themselves more offensively, under our free institutions, than in the stricter governments of Europe.

Science, also, that daring, irresistible revolutionist, has lent itself unconsciously, but none the less effectively, to purposes of destruction and the promotion of barbarism,— as we see by the dynamite outrages in Europe and the threatened employment of similar methods in this country. But shall we therefore condemn

invention, taboo chemistry, exile electricity, and return to the ages of bronze and stone? If yea, let us also give up Democracy, if we can, and return to those periods of history so happily grounded in that unscientific lore concerning which Pope inquires,—

> "Who first taught souls enslaved and realms undone
> The enormous faith of many made for one?"

The old Lacedæmonian, to some uneasy aspiration of his countryman for another situation than that in which he found himself, said, with homely wisdom, "Thy lot is cast in Sparta: improve that city" (*Spartam nactus es: hanc exorna*). We find ourselves in this country of ours, and in a century of our own,—the age of Social Science,—and what we have to do is to work in our own field, with the implements that are given us, and without seeking to force the season, or to emigrate either into the future or the past. In this situation our Association has been spending the last twenty-seven years,—not unprofitably upon the whole, even if we have no great harvests to show. Within that time (hardly the space assigned to a generation of men) we have seen Democracy make great strides. Our beloved associate and former President, George William Curtis, whose illness we deplore and for whose recovery we confidently hope, used to relate an anecdote, which he applied to the political situation of Europe within his recollection. Many years ago, when one of our men-of-war, cruising in the Mediterranean, entered an Austrian port, in what is now United Italy, her commander received as guests on board his fine vessel, a model of nautical order and discipline, the Grand Duke or King of one of those divisions into which the policy of Metternich had minced up that noble peninsula, with a brilliant and gilded suite of officers in full uniform. As they were inspecting the warship, and going below, one of these glittering gentlemen missed his footing and fell down the stairs. A Yankee sailor, gravely approaching the officer of the deck and touching his cap, thereupon said, "If you please, sir, one o' them kings has jest tumbled down the hatchway." Mr. Curtis went on to say that he had seen one king after another tumbling down the hatchway ever since he could remember; and still, in the words of the omnibus conductor, "there is room for one more." Of the ancient and approved sovereignties of Europe, how few are left in that solvent and resplendent condition which the Holy Alliance vainly sought to make permanent! The North Sea, when the tide was running in, would wet the feet

of Canute in his chair; and the tidal wave of Democracy in our century has just as little regard for those hereditary rulers who still claim to govern by divine right.

This great question concerning present and future Democracy has already been touched upon in some of its features by President Wayland, and will be still further debated as our meeting goes forward day by day, to consider the topics arranged for discussion by the Chairmen and Secretaries of our four departments which this year bring forward matter for debate. I have opened the broad general question, and hinted at the recent and rapid growth of Democracy, because it is the most striking feature of the Nineteenth Century, and that which, in my opinion, has most promoted the development of the social sciences. That irregular and pedantic genius of three centuries ago, Giordano Bruno, in the dedication of his least fantastic satire to Sir Philip Sidney (who, if he were living in our day, would be as active in promoting social science as Lord Brougham was thirty years ago), begins a page of copious compliment by saying, "Blind is he who doth not see the sun, stupid who doth not recognize it, ungrateful who does not give thanks thereto,— so powerful is the light, so great the benefit, so immense the beneficence, by which it shines, by which it surpasses, by which it delights us,— Master of things perceptible, Father of substance, Author of life." Bruno's astronomical knowledge fermented in his mind, and broke out in strange theories and symbols; but what he here says of the sun we may well say of that great motive power in modern society, the popular and democratic spirit, which the blind can see, the stupid feel by some of its inflictions, and even the ungrateful have reason to praise for some of its results. Its qualities, like those which Bruno justly ascribes to Sidney, "have been manifested to many as occasion offered, and been a wonder to all, while it displayed its natural inclination, the truly heroic." It has other inclinations far from heroic; and even the matchless Sidney was sometimes quarrelsome and sometimes prosaic.

The quarrelsome and, as some say, the murderous tendencies of people under democratic government have been much discussed during the past year, and a paper on murder by our distinguished associate, the new Minister to Russia, will be read here just after he has sailed from New York on Thursday. He regretted that the orders of the government forbade his presence here, to read his own carefully digested paper and to hear the debate upon it. Three weeks ago an international congress of criminal anthropology

met at Brussels to consider the same questions from a psychological point of view, and debated the mental condition of the criminal who yields to what is often said to be an irresistible impulse. The most noticeable feature of the Brussels meeting was the absence of the Italian Professor, Lombroso, and the principal adherents of his school, who have advanced peculiar opinions concerning the criminal type, as a physiological fact, which fuller observation hardly confirms. These opinions have gained very little foothold in our country, although a fantastic English writer, who probably understands the prison problem in his own country better than in ours, has alleged recently that it is the prevalence of these Italian theories, and a relaxed prison discipline resulting from them, which are responsible for the prevalence of homicide in the United States. It seems to be the American experience rather that it is not Italian theory, but Italian practice, especially with the knife, which increases the murder rate in our country. The problem, however, is more general in its geographical distribution than might perhaps be inferred from the paper of Dr. White or the crude utterances of Mr. William Tallack. Crimes of violence have increased of late years, not only in this country, but in France, in Italy, in Greece, and no doubt in other countries when compared with the criminality of ten years ago, or perhaps twenty years ago. Yet even now in several of these countries, there are perhaps scarcely more deliberate murders than there were executions by judicial or military authority in the last century, as compared with the whole population of each country. Patrick Colquhoun, a London magistrate, who wrote a painfully interesting book on the crimes of London a hundred years ago, declared that in 1796 there were in England 160 different offences punishable with death; adding that in the year 1793, in London alone, then containing less than a million people, there were 68 capital punishments,— a ratio which, if extended to the present population, would exhibit more than 250 of these solemn public murders in a year. I suppose the whole number of wilful murders in that city annually scarcely reaches 100 at present, and doubtless appears to be much less than this. Were the London system of 1792 now carried out in the United States, with our 65,000,000 inhabitants, we should exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of more than 4,000 capital punishments in a year. I hardly think that the most severe or Draconian advocate of terrifying penalties would wish to see that number of our follow-creatures hanged or guillotined, or, as the newspapers say, "electrocuted," in a single year.

In nothing has the progress of civilization in the Nineteenth Century been more marked than in the amelioration of penalties for crime; nor did this humane change in our laws have the effect to increase crime, but, on the contrary, seemed to diminish it. Perhaps we have carried this mildness towards criminals too far; yet I am inclined to think that this is not the occasion of the increasing blood-guiltiness of mankind. Rather should I ascribe it to certain exaggerating and exasperating tendencies of our recent civilization, combining with those remarkable influences which have brought the least enlightened and most barbarous of mankind within range of a civilization for which they are not fitted and which they cannot understand. Add to this that loosening of all the bands of authority which our century has witnessed and produced, and the temptations arising from the highly complicated structure of society, and we have general causes enough to account for a condition which everybody must deplore, but which certainly is not restricted to a single country or a single hemisphere.

A similar course of reasoning might be used with regard to insanity, which has so close a connection with crime, and especially with crimes of violence. It has long been observed that insanity is a feature of developing civilization; and, although this statement should not be pressed too far,— since the whole life of barbarous people is little better than one prolonged insanity,— yet it must needs happen that the pressure of mental and moral forces, as population grows more dense, and civilization more complex, will increase the tendency to insanity in unbalanced natures. In the treatment of this grave malady — one of the most distressing and least remediable of the ills that flesh is heir to— the Nineteenth Century distinguishes itself, not only above any other, but beyond every other age in the world's history. For until the year 1800, except by a very few enlightened and observing persons, insanity was everywhere misunderstood and shockingly ill-treated. Like the science of chemistry and of electro-physics, the psychopathic science, of intelligent care for the insane, is almost wholly the growth of this century; and few persons in this country or elsewhere have studied it more carefully, or been of greater practical service in regard to it, than our late associate, Dr. Earle, whose death has been mentioned in the lately published number of our Journal.

We have also to lament the death of an honorary member, Sir Daniel Wilson, late President of the University at Toronto, who closed his very active and useful life on the 6th of August. He

was better known in Canada than in the United States, where yet his learning, his talents, and his liberality of mind were highly appreciated, and did not fail of due recognition.

The Department of Education, in which Sir Daniel Wilson became so eminent, has presented to-day its interesting and useful papers; and those of the Health, Jurisprudence, and Social Economy Departments, will follow on the three ensuing days, as laid down in the order of business already submitted and in the hands of our members. Our Association has seldom presented a more important series of practical papers than those of this year; and, if they seem to touch too constantly and persistently on social maladies and abnormal features of life in the Nineteenth Century, we must remember that apt Scripture,— "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." Our Finance Department, which has offered in years past so much valuable material for our discussions, is this year dormant,— not because the situation of the country is wholly satisfactory in a financial point of view, but for other and casual reasons, which may not occur hereafter. There is such a bond of union, however, between our five departments, and so much opportunity for general discussions, not limited to a single department, that we contrive to touch upon questions enough, I fancy, in any given year; while there are always other topics pressing for consideration, which will come forward the next year or the year after.

We have now an opportunity to consider for an hour, in a general debate, the doctrines, old or new, inculcated in the addresses and papers thus far read, and in this Report, which, like most of those that I have had occasion to write for the past twenty years, aimed to deal with general or special topics of some importance rather than to present a review of the year's work of an Association so multifarious in its working as ours has aimed to be, and has from the first succeeded in being.

The Nineteenth Century has been the age of Social Science, as I have imperfectly pointed out. The first century witnessed the birth of Christianity, but had not much to relate concerning that great epoch in the world's history. The philosophy of the Stoics was then more seemingly important than the infant sect of despised Jews and their doctrine of universal brotherhood. Stoicism also held to a brotherhood of all men and to their common dependence on a Divine Power. It included in its ranks illustrious senators of Rome, like Cato, instructors of world-ruling princes, like Seneca, and, in the second century, emperors like Antoninus Pius

and the good Marcus Aurelius. The Christians had no such names of statesmen and princes. Their Master was a homeless wanderer; their evangelists, obscure and feeble persons,— fishermen and bailiffs and barber-surgeons,— but the founders of a new order before which the power of Rome crumbled away, and which alone made possible those potencies of our own time,— Democracy and Social Science. The Stoic philosophy aimed at these results, but could not compass them. It declared of the Supreme Being what we hold to day,—

> "God is in all things seen, in all things known,—
> Active or passive, we are his alone."

*Jupiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris.**

This is the thought of Cato, in that noble speech of his to Labienus, reported by the poet Lucan in Nero's gloomy reign, but occurring a century before, while Cato was withdrawing his army from Egypt through the sands of Libya, in order to make head better against Cæsar on the plains of Utica. What he then expressed, in a figure, of God's omnipresence, is none the less true now; but it is also become a symbol of that universality, composed of many parts, to which we give the name of Social Science, and which has taken our decaying century as the chief arena and show-place of its wonderful activity.

> "This is in all things seen, in all things known;
> Active or passive in its hands are thrown
> The lives of all men, social or alone."

In society we obey its mandates, in solitude we cannot escape them. It remains for us to ascertain their scope and to promulgate them to those who walk with us or come after us. This, which has been the faltering aim of the Nineteenth Century, will be more and more the task of the Twentieth.

*The whole passage is worth quoting. It says: —

> "Hæremus cuncti superis, temploque tacente,
> Nil agimus nisi sponte dei; nec vocibus ullis
> Numen eget; dixitque semel nascentibus auctor
> Quidquid scire licet; steriles nec legit arenas,
> Ut caneret paucis, mersitque hoc pulvere verum:
> Estque dei sedes, ubi terra, et pontus, et aer,
> Et cœlum, et virtus. Superos quid quærimus ultra?
> Jupiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris.
> Sortilegis egeant dubii, semperque futuris
> Casibus ancipites; me non oracula certum,
> Sed mors certa facit. Pavido fortique cadendum est:
> Hoc satis est dixisse Jovem." Sic ille profatur;
> Servataque fide templi, discedit ab aris,
> Non exploratum populis Hammona relinquens.

Pharsalia, lib. ix. 573-586.

ART EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIFE.

BY MISS MYRA B. MARTIN, OF NEW YORK.

[Read August 30, 1892.]

Never before in the history of our development as a nation have the needs and importance of popular education received so much attention as at the present time. As a people, we have been too willing to let the matter of our children's education rest in the hands of "the educators," so called, who themselves, some from choice, others from circumstance, have been, in a way, considered as a separate race, isolated from the common interests of life. Within the past two decades, however, there has been among the laity a great awakening to the importance of the subject; and the members of the Social Science Association that have a finger on the pulse of the people feel the mighty flow of life-giving interest that makes for the higher development of the masses.

It is of a particular phase of popular education that I would speak this morning, but one that is so correlated with all other phases that it is difficult to treat one without dealing with the others.

In speaking of Art Education in American life, it is perhaps necessary to use the future tense; for it is an admitted fact that, with all its great natural resources, with all its triumphs of inventive ingenuity and mechanical skill, with its splendid strides in science, which have placed it and kept it in front of all other nations, this nation of ours is lamentably deficient in the æsthetic sense, and it is on this side that our present educational needs are pressing.

What we have of Art Education, in the popular sense, has a history, though, of necessity, a brief one. To those of us who claim the Bay State as our home, it is gratifying to recall that the first attempt in this country to put Art Education on a sound basis, and to incorporate it in a somewhat systematic manner with the public school curriculum, was made in Massachusetts in 1870. We have not the time to-day, and it is probably unnecessary, to review here the history of that experiment, which only furnishes another proof of the fact that an attempt to mould the American temperament by

foreign methods will always be a failure, and that for America we must have American methods of thought and work.

No work, however, that is undertaken in so earnest a spirit can be a total failure, even if it serves no greater end than the Circumlocution Office,—to show "how not to do it"; and probably to that experiment can be traced the results we are getting to-day from institutions like the Pratt Institute, Drexel Institute, and others, established by the munificence of far-sighted and patriotic philanthropists. These results are not to be stated in commensurable terms; but, great as is the work done in this way, it is not enough. It reaches only a fractional percentage of the people, and there are millions still that are untouched by this influence. We have a great problem before us, requiring for its solution much time, patience, and thoughtful effort, and the self-abnegation of the nameless few always to be found at the bottom of a great work.

The two principal things to be considered are (*a*) How to reach these millions, and (*b*) What to do for them.

To the first question there can be but one answer: a statement so obvious that it needs no discussion — the work must be accomplished through the children in our public schools. The children of all classes spend, during the most plastic period of their life, nearly half their waking hours in the school-room; and there it is that we must seek to surround them with refining influences, and instil into their very souls that desire for culture that shall counteract or supplement the home influence. And it can be done, for it has been done, and is being done to-day in many schools under our immediate observation.

The second consideration is not so easily disposed of. It is a fact greatly to be deprecated that, while our people, whom an eminent German characterizes as "the sober-minded Americans," have taken a deep interest in the subject of industrial training, they have shrunk from the consideration of Art in Education as if it were something special and apart,—something that is unpractical. I sometimes think we are not quite honest with ourselves about this. We know that we are not well-trained æsthetically, but we are not quite willing to acknowledge it; and we hush our æsthetic conscience by pointing proudly to our development in other lines,— to our machines "that will do everything but talk," and, yes, to those that do.

We are negatively honest, however, in that we do not, as a people, *pretend* to a knowledge of Art; although there are individuals

that are willing under all circumstances to hold up the banner of universal knowledge, like the Yankee in the art gallery — of course he was a Yankee — who was criticising a military picture. Being asked by a by-stander if he were conversant with the canons of Art, he replied with unction, "Oh, yes, I have made a 'speciality' of fire-arms."

Indeed, it is time, from a moral as well as an æsthetic standpoint, that the light which has illumined only the mountain tops where dwell the gods alone, should flood the valleys with the sunshine that will call into active life the dormant potentiality of man. But there is great contrariety of opinion as to aims and methods. Granting that all here present have given more or less thought to this subject of Art Education in the popular sense, it is safe to assume that there are at least three classes here: 1st, those who believe that Art Education should be industrial in its purpose, who believe in the mechanical side only of manual training, and demand that labor shall be interpreted in the great provisions for public education; 2d, those who would develop the artistic element only; and, 3d, the rapidly increasing number who, by a combination of the two, would secure the child's all-round development; who would bring to mechanical skill the æsthetic element that alone can give to our industrial products that intangible charm that will enable them, in a commercial sense, to be entered in successful competition with those of the Old World, and at the same time satisfy the higher demand made by that love of the beautiful inherent in every breast.

I should like to dwell upon the claims of the first two classes,— and they are not baseless claims. It is obvious that our industries suffer from the lack of skill or experience in our laborers; and there are various reasons for this, such as the perfection of machinery, the growth of trades-unions, and the consequent better organization of labor and capital. But, curiously enough, as several writers have pointed out (notably Dr. MacAlister), many of those persons that are so clamorous for industrial training only contend that we should not attempt to teach the trades themselves in such a way as to give a child money-earning manual skill, but that we should give him elementary instruction in general principles and in the use of the simplest tools. They seem to think that the boys and girls need to be coddled with a promise of usefulness instead of being clad in an armor of manual skill that will enable them to go out fearlessly into the battle of life. These same persons

lament the disappearance of the apprentice system, and complain that there is nothing to fill its place. We do not want to fill its place; it was a thing that had outgrown its usefulness; and the abolition of the apprentice system was almost as great an advance in civilization as the abolition of slavery! A great deal has been done for a man when he is helped to become, not a machine, but a sentient organism superior to and able to control a machine.

I should like to take up the statistical argument showing that while we export an immense quantity of crude material at a low price, we buy back a small amount of the same material at a price from two to twenty times as great, the difference in value being caused by the artistic industry employed in making up the raw material. This can be readily shown in the case of textiles, pottery, bronzes, and kindred manufactures. We might make a similar claim for our export of food products which go to sustain the foreign laborer or artisan. This is important, of course, from an economic point of view. It means that the demand for beautiful things is a constant and increasing one; and, if it cannot be met by domestic products, it will be met by foreign products. Upon the cultivation of the æsthetic sense in our workmen, and of the power to satisfy the demand by our products, depends our industrial success. But it means more than that. The existence and increase of this demand for beautiful things among the common people are indicative of moral as well as æsthetic growth that should be recognized and fostered.

But lack of time forbids the taking up and elaborating these points: so, passing to the third class, I will try to present briefly our side of the question, and leave the much abler advocates of the other theories to take up the cudgels in their own defence. We of the third class hope we have no dogmas, but we have a creed which may be translated into "The Aims of Modern Art Education,"— viz., the awakening and developing in our people,

1st, Love of beauty both in nature and in man's work;

2d, Power to put beauty into one's own work.

The cultivation of individual love of beauty should be regarded as a no less natural and necessary part of the training of children than the cultivation of a love of truth and of goodness. Truth, Beauty, and Goodness are all modes of manifestation of the divine existence. We try to give all children some elementary knowledge of truth and some degree of enthusiasm for truth, even though most of them can never do any great original work in science or

philosophy. We try to give all children some fundamental ideas of goodness, and to awaken practical feeling for goodness in every-day life, even though few grow up to be conspicuous moral leaders. Why should not training in the appreciation of beauty and the practical power to create beauty be considered from the same reasonable standpoint?

We apprehend life along these three lines. Thought and feeling along any one of these lines need to be balanced by thought and feeling along the other lines. As Walter Blackburn Harte, in the *New England Magazine* for August, points out, Art and man's spiritual forces are linked; for he says: "Art is indissolubly bound up with man's spiritual forces, because it is through these forces he comprehends, strives, invents, achieves. The moral nature of man is the man, and Art is the best expression of the man." Mr. Harte is right, for the Art spirit means *honesty*,— the absence of all sham and show and make-believe, the cultivation of truthfulness and frankness. Again, man's physical needs are limited, and can be satisfied: man's spiritual needs are illimitable. As fast as he gains one height of spiritual possession, new heights arise. There is no conceivable limit to man's possible growth in the direction of his spiritual nature, and the most elementary training of that nature, if good in its kind, reaches out into infinite progression.

The present age is confessedly given over to materialistic science. It is the age of machinery. An increase of the (more evidently) spiritual element is needed to keep the balance true.

Present industrial agitation tends to shorten the average man's working day. Something has already been accomplished in this direction, and much more will doubtless be accomplished before long. But it is a serious question how well the average workingman is equipped for the enjoyment of leisure, when leisure comes. The average man needs to have his higher nature more alive before he can get anything more than physical rest out of his extra hours of leisure. Only as his eyes are opened to Nature and Art can he really get much pleasure or much spiritual strength from contact with Nature and with Art.

As the masterpieces of ancient authors are reckoned the "classics" of literary workers, so the masterpieces of the world's great artists — painters, sculptors, architects — are the "classics" of all who work with material substances; and thus a knowledge of what other nations and other ages have accomplished in architecture, in sculpture, in painting, in Art industries, ought to be made practica-

ble for the men of to-day who are growing up to help make our public and private buildings, our furniture and textiles and ornaments, as well as for the few who are to be our great "artists," in the usual sense of that word; for in the study of these "classics" can be traced slowly, step by step, the inner life of the nations that pass in review under the search-light of History.

And this broader provision for study in historic art is now just being. inaugurated. We see it in the study of Historic Ornament in the public schools, and the movement for placing fine casts and pictures in public school rooms. This means much more than even Art-study: it means a new interpretation of history, of history in the light of man's humanity to man, instead of history in the light of man's brutality or *in*humanity to man. And this bringing the Art spirit into life through public education is not merely a fanciful theory. Even now teachers see the beginnings of its influence, when the rough boys in a city school willingly make their grimy hands clean for the sake of a color lesson wrought out with dainty material; or when children of the common, every-day sort kindle with enthusiasm over the great cathedral whose picture they have seen, some bit of whose sculptured ornament they have faithfully studied and drawn, because to their awakening minds its builders become real live men, enjoying beauty as men still enjoy it, and creating beauty as men still may create it.

In conclusion, the essential principles of all good Art are principles immediately and practically translatable into terms of every-day life. The infusion of the genuine Art spirit into public education must necessarily be a long, slow process; but, as far and as fast as the Art spirit does become a reality to the people, so far will simplicity and consistency come into our modes of life, and truth and unity and harmony in man's relation to his neighbors become characteristic of that life. From the point of view of Social Science, therefore, one of the most important lessons for the hour is to lay hold of Art Education in public education.

To do this, we must have our teachers trained to a right understanding of the Art Idea in human history and in social life; and we must also surround children in the public schools with suitable examples of Art work. Until the matter is taken up in this practical way, but little good will come from merely discussing theories of Art Education. I would that some distinct message of encouragement might go out from the Association to every effort that aims to build up true Art Education in the schools,— a message affirming

the importance of Art in public education, on grounds far broader than its utilitarian application in industrial life, and emphasizing the necessity that Art Education must be, in fact, a fundamental part of our public school training if the public school is to meet the demands of our rapidly developing social conditions.

I am dissatisfied with the incompleteness of what I have said to you this morning. It is difficult to compress into a twenty-minute talk much valuable thought on a subject which is so bound up with life as to require, for its thorough treatment, a retrospect of all that has been done and said in social science and applied psychology for the past twenty years; but I am reminded of Lord Bacon's admonition,— "Let him not forget to leave other men their turn to speak"; and I can only hope that I have not, as our own great master of English puts it, "made myself unintelligible by my speech-making."

EXAMINATION AND COMMITMENT OF THE PUBLIC INSANE IN NEW YORK CITY.

BY MATTHEW D. FIELD, M.D.

[Read Wednesday, August 31, 1892.]

A suggestion that the method of examination and commitment of the insane in the city of New York would be of interest has induced me to write this paper. It grew out of the lunacy legislation of 1874, as given below.*

The Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction of New York City, under this law, appointed special examiners in lunacy, whose duty it should be to examine all cases that should come under the care of the Department, and in proper cases make certificates of lunacy, and present the same for approval before a judge of a court of record, as required by the law; after which the adjudged lunatic was sent with such certificates to the insane asylums of the Department. Such a method has continued till the present day, except that formerly the Chief Examiner held the position of City Physician, and had charge, likewise, of the City Prison. Such was the condition of affairs when I was appointed Examiner in Lunacy for the Department of Public Charities and Correction, in November, 1882; my senior being Dr. William I.

*Acts of 1874, Chapter 446.

Section 1. No person shall be committed to or confined as a patient in any asylum, public or private, or in any institution, home, or retreat for the care and treatment of the insane, except upon the certificate of two physicians, under oath, setting forth the insanity of such person. But no person shall be held in confinement in any such asylum for more than five days, unless within that time such certificate be approved by a judge or justice of a court of record of the county or district in which the alleged lunatic resides; and said judge or justice may institute inquiry and take proofs as to any alleged lunacy before approving or disapproving of such certificate, and said judge or justice may, in his discretion, call a jury in each case to determine the question of lunacy.

Sect. 2. It shall not be lawful for any physician to certify to the insanity of any person for the purpose of securing his commitment to an asylum, unless said physician be of reputable character, a graduate of some incorporated medical college, a permanent resident of the State, and shall have been in the actual practice of his profession for at least three years. And such qualifications shall be certified to by a judge of any court of record. No certificate of insanity shall be made except after a personal examination of the party alleged to be insane, and according to forms prescribed by the State Commissioner in Lunacy (with the State Commission in Lunacy); and every such certificate shall bear date of not more than ten days prior to such commitment.

Sect. 3. It shall not be lawful for any physician to certify to the insanity of any person for the purpose of committing him to an asylum of which the said physician is either the superintendent, proprietor, an officer, or a regular professional attendant therein.

Hardy, the prison physician. Within the year Dr. Hardy was relieved of all duties in the Department save those of Examiner in Lunacy, and our joint functions became and have continued independent. Upon the death of Dr. Hardy in April, 1886, my present associate, Dr. Allen Fitch, was appointed.

In the earlier days there was no special place for the reception of the alleged lunatic; and he was examined where he might be, in prison or hospital. Then all the suspected insane were sent to Bellevue Hospital, and placed in the "cells." There were two wards in the basement of the building, one for males and the other for females. In these wards were received, not only the supposed lunatics, but all alcoholic, violently delirious, and refractory patients of the hospital; and frequently criminal patients were sent there, too, for safe keeping. I remember very well visiting the "cells" as an interne of the hospital, when all these classes were received. I was called as a surgeon to see a wretched woman, who had received a fracture of the arm in a drunken brawl, and who had been committed there as an alcoholic. It was at night, and the light was dim; and a little child, scarcely more than three years of age, was clinging to the skirts of its mother, who was sodden with liquor. As I examined the arm of the drunken mother, the beautiful, innocent, pleading face looked up to me for mercy for her mother; and I could not but be gentle with her for the child's sake. I thought if the mother would only look upon the child with but a tenth part of that humanity and sympathy with which the child looked up to me, what a vast difference the case would assume. While this was taking place, I could hear the shrieks of fear on all sides from those in the delirium of alcohol by which the disturbed lunatic was continually excited.

Long before 1882 the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction had recognized the necessity of separating the insane from the alcoholic; and their persistent application had obtained an appropriation for the erection of a separate pavilion for the reception of the supposed insane. The year 1879 saw the completion of the present Reception Pavilion for the insane at Bellevue Hospital. It was erected in the grounds of the hospital, and is a one-story brick building, divided by iron doors into two wards, one for males and one for females. Each side has a corridor, lighted and ventilated from above, containing eight rooms for patients, besides an examination room (which contains record and history books, and a medicine and instrument chest), a kitchen, where not

only food is received for the ward from the general kitchen of the hospital, but special diet is prepared as the resident physician may direct, the carving is also done, and all dangerous knives are kept there. One room is set apart as a linen closet, where the bedding and necessary clothing are kept for patients. There is also a lavatory, bath-room, and closets, removed from the ward by a passage ventilated and lighted by windows on either side, as well as by windows on either side of the closets.

The only criticism that can be made concerning the Pavilion is that it might contain more sleeping-rooms, so that patients might be retained longer under observation without overcrowding. The cells were and still are under the care of the house staff, the medical staff dividing the service in looking after the cells. When the Pavilion was first established, it was placed under the same care, the house physician, having the supervision of the cells, also had the care of the insane admitted to the Pavilion. The Examiners then only passed on the mental condition and the propriety of commitment or discharge, the treatment of the patient while in the Pavilion resting with the house physician, who had no special training in the care of the insane, and who had already sufficient work to care for his patients in his regular service, where his interest and heart really were. The oversight of the alcoholic and insane patients was an extra and entirely secondary duty of a busy physician. Soon after my appointment in November, 1882, Dr. Henry V. Wildman, who has had several years' experience as assistant physician at the asylum on Ward's Island, was appointed Resident Physician at Bellevue Hospital, in charge of the Pavilion for the insane. He resigned in October, 1887, and was succeeded by Dr. Stuart Douglas, who had been assistant physician at the City Asylum for over six years, and who is still Resident Physician. In 1885 the general oversight of the Pavilion was placed under Dr. A. E. MacDonald, the General Superintendent of the New York City Asylums.

You may now ask, Whence came the patients? The majority received at the Pavilion are committed by the Police Justices to the care of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction for examination as to sanity. The usual term of commitment is five days. Why *five days* nobody seems to know, except that such has been the custom, and that length of time is usually sufficient for the purpose. The Police Justices commit for examination regarding sanity such persons as manifest evidence of insanity, in these classes: —

1st. Those persons who are arrested for petty offences, the nature and manner of the occurrence indicating an unbalanced mind.

2d. Those who interrupt public meetings or divine service, who preach or orate in public places, their conduct appearing to be irrational.

3d. Persons making complaint before Police Justices, at police stations in other courts, to the district attorney, or other public officials of wrongs and persecutions or of claims that appear to be imaginary.

4th. Where complaint is made by citizens of persons who annoy them upon pretence that seems irrational.

5th. Persons who may be found by the police wandering about the streets in an aimless or purposeless manner, or acting in a strange manner, or who are unable to give a rational account of themselves.

6th. Those who have attempted suicide.

7th. Those who are brought before a public magistrate, where the charge or testimony would warrant the suggestion that the individual might be insane and irresponsible.

It is not infrequent for Police Justices to commit persons for examination, and to indorse across such commitment, "To be returned to court if found not insane." In fact, Police Justices endeavor to be just, and to commit no person for lesser crimes, when evidence is produced to indicate insanity and irresponsibility, until the question of sanity has been passed upon by the City Examiners. In cases of grave crime, they commit for trial, leaving the court of higher jurisdiction to determine the question of sanity and responsibility.

The Superintendent of the Poor, acting for the Commissioners in cases that are made public charges, where evidence is furnished that such person is insane and requires care and treatment as an insane person, gives permits for admission to the Pavilion for examination.

The Examining Physician for the Department, where admission is sought to some hospital and his examination leads him to suspect insanity, gives permits for admission to the Pavilion for special examination regarding the applicant's sanity and fitness for admission to the City Asylums or other institutions of the Department.

A certain number of patients are brought by ambulance from

residences, where the statement of friends or the conduct of the patient leads the ambulance surgeon to conclude that the patient is insane. Some are sent directly from police stations, without a commitment from a Police Justice. These are usually excited, violent, or sick cases, in which the police feel they are not justified in retaining the individual at the police station for the time required to obtain the formal commitment. A few cases are admitted by the Resident Physician, where patients are brought by friends with letters from a family physician, or come voluntarily, or consent to temporary restraint. Where the patient is violent, dangerous, or very sick, the Resident Physician feels justified in admitting to the Pavilion without the formality of a commitment by a magistrate. In other cases, it is his habit to recommend an application to some Police Justice for formal commitment.

Patients are transferred from the regular wards of Bellevue Hospital and from the alcoholic ward, but only after the examination and approval of the Resident Physician of the Pavilion (he indorsing the card with his signature) before the transfer is made. Patients are received from other hospitals and institutions when brought to Bellevue by ambulance. (I have thus far gone into this subject of admission to show the precautions that are taken to prevent the temporary detention even of any improper case in the examining Pavilion.)

Where cases of insanity develop at other hospitals or institutions in the care of the Department of Charities and Correction, by order of the General Superintendent it is the duty of the Resident Physician of such institution or hospital to report to the Examiners in Lunacy, in writing, the existence of such patient and a history of the case, and to state that, in his opinion, the patient is in such physical condition as to justify his transfer to the Asylum. The Examiners are directed to visit such patients at the various institutions where they may be, and pass judgment on the question of sanity and propriety of commitment to some of the City Asylums. The Examiners prefer to make their visits separately and to arrive at independent conclusions, though they have subsequently to unite in a dual certificate.

Under the present dual certificate required by law, we are in the habit of dividing the work; and, while one Examiner makes out the certificates for the males, the other does so for the females. We alternate each month. The first Examiner, after the completion of his examination, makes out (if he considers the patient insane) a

certificate, and makes oath to it before a notary public, leaving the certificate in the notary's charge. The second Examiner, if of the same opinion, signs the certificate prepared by the first Examiner, with such additions as his examination may lead him to make; then makes oath, as did the first Examiner, before the same notary, who acknowledges the certificate, and in this form it is presented to the Judge for approval. Should the two Examiners disagree in any case, as sometimes occurs, the case is referred to the Resident Physician, whose opinion decides the disposition of the case.

Discretion is exercised by the Examiners and by the Resident Physician in regard to the discharge of patients to the care of friends and relatives. If the friends show a disposition and ability to care for the patients, they are usually discharged to their care, if they sign a contract agreeing properly to provide for them. If the patient be decidedly dangerous to himself and others, we usually insist that arrangements be made with some institution for proper care and treatment. All that is required is a reasonable assurance that both the patient and the community are properly guarded. When once the patient is lodged in some institution, the Examiners consider their responsibility ended. Of course, improper commitment or discharge would be still chargeable to them. Beyond that, they could hardly be held responsible. The Examiners stand between the patient and the community. They must guard the welfare of the patient, consider his right to enjoy liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and at the same time they must guard and protect the community.

A patient should be committed to an institution for the insane for the following reasons: —

1st. As the best means to insure recovery. Patients having large wealth may be as well treated and gain some advantages by home treatment, where the home can be constituted an asylum for a single patient. In most of these cases, the only advantage gained is the avoidance of the name "asylum." The benefits of the order and discipline of an institution in very many cases outweigh all the advantages of home treatment. In public cases, this mode of treatment is usually out of the question.

2d. For the patient's safety and well-being, they must be protected against themselves and their own acts. They must be guarded from suicide, self-mutilation, and from acts that result from a failure to appreciate their surroundings, such as playing with fire, turning on gas, interfering with poisonous or dangerous

substances, exposing themselves to heat and cold, walking into dangerous places, and incurring the thousand and one risks that demented persons have done and are ever apt to do again. Very many, unable to support themselves, suffer, when at large, from lack of food, clothing, and shelter, and are constantly being brought to the Pavilion in the most wretched condition. This class of patients are usually fairly well off under supervision, and conduct themselves well in asylums. Many have to be protected from extravagances and waste of property, the result of delusion or lack of appreciation.

3d. For the protection of the community. The public demands protection from acts of violence, and from the dangers arising from the purposeless acts of the insane that threaten the public as well as themselves; those having delusions, the nature of which might lead to murder, assault, or serious annoyance. Ladies have a right to walk the streets without being accosted, annoyed, or frightened by lunatics who fancy the ladies are in love with them; and the husband should be permitted to enjoy his home without interruption and threats from an insane person who imagines the wife is in love with him, and that the husband has cheated him of his rights. The lunatics who believe themselves kings, queens, presidents, heirs to thrones and property, and the like, are always dangerous, as well as those who have delusions of persecution. Those who have hallucinations, especially of hearing, are dangerous; for they are influenced by their hallucinations. The voices that direct the lunatic may never make him dangerous to the community; but who can tell what the next communication may be? God may tell an Abraham to slay his son, and never stay his hand. Simple Simon has wandered through the streets for a generation, and is being jeered at by the boys, as their fathers did before them; but to-day he turns, and with club or stone dashes out the brains of some innocent boy. It is a duty now generally acknowledged, of the community, to care for the insane who have not friends with means or the disposition to do so.

Public and newspaper criticism is largely due to ignorance or a tendency to jump at conclusions without fully inquiring into the method and care exercised, not only in the examination and commitment of the insane, but their treatment in public institutions. I believe that the citizens of New York City can take pride in the methods employed in the examination and commitment of public insane, and the provision for the care of patients during such

examination. The Reception Pavilion is in every respect a hospital, with a Resident Physician and competent and trained attendants. Unnecessary detention at police stations and prisons, and the mingling of the insane with the criminal class, is avoided. All patients transferred from the Pavilion to the Asylum are accompanied by attendants of their own sex, who remain with them until they are turned over to the care of the asylum authorities. Opportunity is afforded, in very many cases, to obtain a history of the patient, and to consult with friends and allow them the privilege of providing for the patients in other institutions, if they have the means and disposition to do so.

The Superintendent of the Poor, Mr. William Blake, visits the Pavilion daily, and institutes investigation to ascertain if the patients are proper public charges and if they be properly charged to New York County.

The following table will show the number of patients received during the past four years and their disposition: —

	Sex.	Admissions.	Transferred to the City Asylums.	Transferred to other Asylums.	Transferred to other institutions.	Discharged.	Died.
1888	Male	997	650	87	135	109	8
	Female	854	616	36	104	87	11
1889	Male	1,075	641	139	87	198	16
	Female	843	625	46	63	93	12
1890	Male	1,066	658	71	193	135	12
	Female	830	601	37	70	103	14
1891	Male	1,138	724	56	187	144	16
	Female	866	671	23	54	100	17
	Total	7,669	5,186	495	893	969	106

Total Commitments,	. . . . .	74.09	per cent.
" "	to City Asylums, ...	67.62	" "
" "	other Asylums, ...	6.47	" "
" "	transferred to other Institutions,	11.64	" "
" "	discharged, ...	12.63	" "
" "	died, ...	1.38	" "

The percentage of discharges when I was first made Examiner was over thirty-three per cent. The percentage has gradually

diminished, from the great care exercised in the exclusion of admission of improper cases to the Pavilion. The number of admissions has decreased but slightly, but the number of improper admissions has lessened very much. This is due very largely to the oversight of a competent Resident Physician with increased power.

In conclusion, I would state that every precaution is exercised to prevent improper admissions to the Reception Pavilion, and that the Examiners try to obtain histories from friends of all patients as to previous condition and conduct, and use this as independent evidence in determining the true mental condition of individuals who are presented to them for examination. We cannot but take pride in the fact that very seldom is a case registered at the Asylum as not insane (I believe but three times in ten years), and never, to my knowledge, has a discharged patient committed any outrage against the community in that time. The nearest approach to this was when a mother was discharged to the care of a daughter, when six weeks later both committed suicide. The one other case was a man who was sent to the almshouse, and some weeks later got into the river and was drowned. Whether this was a suicide or the act of a demented person is still a question. A large number of almshouse inmates are wildly demented, and are acknowledged to be so. These are the only evidences of misjudgment in the past ten years known to the writer.

A female reporter was sent to the Asylum, and much newspaper comment was aroused; and the Examiners cannot now appear in court without the question being asked them, "You once pronounced a sane person insane, did you not?" We are fallible. When we are called upon to examine a criminal where there is an object to simulate insanity, we are naturally suspicious, and view the case in that light. Why should we look upon every admission to the Pavilion with suspicion? Why should we consider every person an impostor? The individual person referred to was duly committed by a Police Justice for examination, and the matron of a Home came and gave a history of irrational conduct, and that delusion was expressed sufficient to induce her to make the charge of insanity before the committing magistrate. That person's conduct was irrational while in the Pavilion, as it was before the Examiners. She expressed inability to appreciate her surroundings, and would give no account of herself, and acted an inability to do so. There was no more reason to disbelieve her conduct and answers than those of any other patient. From her assumed con-

duct she could not be cast upon the street, and no account could be obtained of any friend to whom she could be turned over or who could give any history of her. She was simply a demented person, to be cared for until friends should appear, or she recover from her apparent demented condition.

The Examiners of Lunacy in New York City are called upon to pass judgment upon about two thousand cases each year, of all nationalities, races, and colors,— those who speak only their native languages, and individuals from every land under the sun, — patients and friends often telling untruthful stories from beginning to end. I have not unfrequently visited the Pavilion, finding ten patients on a side, not a single one able to speak the English language, and for a number of which it is impossible to find any interpreter. I can remember once when one of the Commissioners of the Department tapped me on the shoulder, and, pointing to a Chinaman, said, "Don't send him to the Asylum, for no one will be able to say when he has cleared up." It must be borne in mind that most patients committed to the Pavilion perceive the nature of the place, and are at once on the defensive and deny their delusions. Even demented patients seem to grasp the situation, and those who speak but little English at once deny their ability to speak any but their native language. Under such disadvantages we work; yet we strive to be just, not only to the patient, but to the community.

COUNTY JAILS AS REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS.

BY EDWARD B. MERRILL, OF NEW YORK.

[Read September 1, 1892.]

In the consideration of the topic assigned to me for this meeting of your Association, you will be confronted by no new theories. In view of all the contributions which make so compact a body of the literature of knowledge upon this subject,— to be found well preserved in the various reports of penologists and of legislative committees, now so accessible to the seekers for information, and to those other papers which compose so splendid a literature of power,— the culmination of which, I think, is reached in the philosophic essay upon Prison Ethics by Herbert Spencer, in which he lifts with his strong hand this somewhat trite and difficult question of sociology to the high plane of public morals,— I cannot be encouraged by any light ambition in hoping to say to you anything new. Of the right to punish for crime, of the laws of nature and of society upon which that right may be based, and of their purpose, now so generally well settled and embodied in every known system of jurisprudence,— on these subjects I have nothing to say. I must now attempt to speak to you upon the county jail as a reformatory and State institution from an absolutely practical standpoint, or be dumb. And I mean by this use of the word "practical" to give you, without unnecessary elaboration, and in such literary form as the matter of this paper and the time for its preparation have allowed, the opinions I have formed from a somewhat extended study of the subject, while serving as a member of a local committee on the jail in one of the counties of this State, together with such suggestions for changes and modifications in the present jail system as have occurred to me as necessary to be made.

The proposed end and purpose of the county jail system is well understood. In one of the States, by a delicate touch of irony, it is classified (but, to speak fairly, for purposes of convenience only) as one of the State *benevolent* institutions. This end and purpose is generally defined with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes

in the statutes of the several States. In New York it is especially provided that the common jails shall be kept by the sheriffs of the counties in which they are respectively situated, and shall be used as prisons for the detention of persons only committed in order to secure their attention as witnesses in any criminal case; for the detention of persons charged with crime and committed for trial; for the confinement of persons duly committed for any contempt or upon civil process; and for the confinement of persons sentenced to imprisonment therein upon conviction for any offence.

By the law of New York, also, where the performance of any act, if prohibited by a statute, and no penalty for the violation of such statute is imposed by *any statute*, the doing of such act is a misdemeanor, the punishment for which is imprisonment in a penitentiary or county jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars.

No criminal, after conviction, can be confined in the county jail for a longer period than one year.

For the architecture of the jail, it is enacted by the Statute of 1847 that each jail shall contain a sufficient number of rooms for the confinement of persons committed on criminal process and detained for trial, separately and distinct from prisoners under sentence; also, a sufficient number of rooms for the confinement of prisoners under sentence; and also a sufficient number of rooms for the separate confinement of persons committed on civil process for contempt, or as witnesses.

The statute, among other things, provides that the prisoners, so far as practicable, shall be kept separate and apart from each other, and that the keepers shall prevent all conversation between the prisoners. The latter shall also have sufficient quantity of inferior but wholesome food, and shall be kept at hard labor. A Bible shall be provided for each room, and divine service shall be held once each Sunday.

It would be ungracious to criticise adversely the terms and provisions of this Statute of 1847. When we consider that it was enacted forty-five years ago, we can justly say, if we are to consider solely its terms and the amplitude of its provisions for the punishment and reformation of petty criminals, that it is an unusually good statute, and the legislature which passed it is entitled to high praise. But in the observance of this, like that of many other statutes upon kindred subjects, based upon a sentiment too elevated to be reached by the average standard of public

opinion, which keeps all law alive and renders it effective,— this statute looking to the safe detention of the prisoner, to a mild but oftentimes useful and sufficient punishment,— was to be enforced by the sheriff. Now, the sheriff is one of a class of necessary officials, of whom it may be said generally that, whatever their private and personal character and standing in the community may be, as citizens merely, they are not those upon whom should be placed the duty of the reformation of petty criminals; nor from whom can reasonably be expected any extended knowledge of the physical or scientific basis of crime, nor any especially illumined interest in the practical and beneficial results which depend altogether upon such knowledge, and upon the faithful performance of this branch of official duties. So this statute, in all that makes it praiseworthy as an effectively reformatory law, and which otherwise commends itself to our approval, failed utterly in its administration, and is now practically obsolete and a dead letter.

To quote from Mr. Thomas's elaborate and able paper upon the History of Prison Architecture ("The History of Prison Architecture," John R. Thomas, New York, 1892): "A place of mere confinement is one thing, a place of mere punishment is another. A place which — while the prisoner is securely kept in it, and while he undergoes, at the least, the great punishment of a privation of liberty — is also a place of education and a place of reform, in which a prime object is that he shall go out a better and more useful man than he came in,— such a place has architectural requirements of its own, that cannot be satisfied merely by the construction of a place in which prisoners are securely kept, or of a place in which they are certain to suffer."

I suppose that the author of the New York Statute of 1847 really intended to provide for the construction of jails which should be "not places of detention merely, not places of punishment merely, but places of reform"; but how great was the failure in the execution of his intention we shall see later on. Perhaps I can make myself clearer by relating some incidents of my own personal observation. They will certainly make plainer some suggestions I have to offer regarding a change in the treatment of petty criminals, and the future use to which the buildings now occupied as county jails in this State may be put.

The statute I have referred to was enacted in 1847. Some years afterwards a county jail was built by the Board of Supervisors in one of the counties in this State. It stands to-day as originally

built. Upon the outer walls is an inscription, cut in stone, informing the curious passer-by, with a finer regard to the customary game played in the neighboring tavern than to the strict demands of a correct Latin version, that it was "Erected Anno *Domino* 1853."

From the internal form and arrangements of this building, constructed under the supervision of a paid board of public officials, you would hesitate before saying that there was any statute on our books which prescribed the architecture of such a building, or that there are any legal requirements concerning it.

It consists of a long room, in shape that of a parallelogram, in which there is a central tier of two stories. Into these are built some twenty or thirty cells of the usual inadequate size. Upon three sides of this tier of cells there are corridors some ten feet in width, with walls of the height of the building, and with the usual narrow and grated windows. At one end of one of the long corridors there was provided the usually inconvenient, inefficient, and insanitary water fixtures, and no bath-room. At the end of the other long corridor was a wooden door, which was the only entrance into the apartments provided for women and girls under commitment. Into this central room and these corridors all persons, whether old or young, white or black, tramp, drunkard, or loafer, with the convicted or only accused criminal together with the witnesses of the crime, who were held for detention, and persons committed for contempt or on civil process were turned, indiscriminately, like sheep into a fold, there to stay until discharged by order of court. These poor creatures passed their whole days in utter idleness, each talking and teaching to the others, in the relating of his personal experiences, his methods of living, and every device known to any one of them, and such other schemes as could be planned by an exchange of the events in his past life.

Through this crowd, jeered and insulted by both men and boys, were led or carried the women prisoners to their separate apartment. And through this wooden door, when both departments happened to be occupied at the same time, which was usually the case, a conversation between the prisoners passed, the profanity and indecency of which, on the one side of the partition, was only equalled by the licentiousness and depravity on the other side. This wooden door was afterwards replaced by one of iron; but that was not entirely effective to prevent communication between the inmates. The provisions of law for separate rooms for certain

classes of prisoners were substantially ignored in the construction of this building. And, as the law limits the sum to be expended in the enlargement and repairs of the jails to five hundred dollars, no changes could be made in that regard. The average number of prisoners was twenty. The food supplied by the sheriff was far from inferior, and it was furnished at an extravagantly high price. In fact, the sheriff kept a boarding-house for petty criminals at the public expense, the rates of board varying in price in different years, from three dollars and a half to four dollars and a half per week for each criminal. These sums were always paid with but little, if any, sincere criticism by the public officials. A full house was altogether dependent upon the good will of the magistrates of the county who made the commitments. The food furnished was of a much better quality and of more variety than is usually found upon the tables of the farmers and mechanics in that neighborhood,— honest, industrious, and law-abiding citizens, who pay their own bills.

A sincere effort was made by application to the county judge, and by repeated applications to the Board of Supervisors, to change this abnormal condition of affairs, and to bring the order of administration of the jail more into accordance with the provisions of the law, by providing labor for the prisoners in breaking stone for use on the public highways. And while for a brief period this was partially accomplished, yet, upon the whole, the effort failed of success. Some reasons for the failure I shall refer to later.

In 1858 a step was taken by the legislature of New York to put the jails to a better use than that of a pretended reformatory institution, by a provision of law (Ch. 139, L. 1858) which permitted the supervisors of two of the counties of this State to contract with the Board of Supervisors of Albany County to receive and keep in the Albany County Penitentiary any person or persons who should be sentenced to confinement at hard labor by any court or magistrate in either of these two counties for any term not less than sixty days. And it was made the duty of every court, police justice, justice of the peace, or other magistrate by whom any person could be sentenced in either of these two counties, for any term not less than sixty days, for any crime or misdemeanor not punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison, during the continuance of the contract before mentioned, to sentence such person to imprisonment in the Albany County Penitentiary, there

to be received, kept, and employed in the manner prescribed by law and the rules and discipline of the penitentiary.

This Act of 1858 was amended in 1859 (Ch. 289, L. 1859), and further amended in 1874 (Ch. 209, L. 1874), when it was extended to all the counties of the State, so that thereafter the misdemeanants sentenced for not less than sixty days, if the Boards of Supervisors contracted to that end, might be sent to the penitentiaries instead of to the county jails.

Accepting the privileges as embodied in the provisions of this law of 1874, a contract was made by the Board of Supervisors of the particular county whose jail I have described, with the Board of Supervisors of a neighboring county in which was located one of the penitentiaries of the State, by which contract it was agreed that such sixty-day prisoners as should be committed to such penitentiary should be there received and confined at an agreed price not exceeding one dollar and a half per week. This contract, while it continued in force, resulted in a considerable saving of the public funds. It was a means of confining misdemeanants in a prison where the discipline and punishment were more in accord with the requirements of justice and of the criminal law; and it also almost depleted the boarding-house of the sheriff. It was, I think, mainly owing to this last result that the law in that part of the State became a dead letter. I believe that after the contract had expired by limitation it was only once renewed; and the law, though it remains upon our statute book unrepealed, is obsolete. You know that under the laws of New York the sheriff is the legal jail-keeper, and that he and all the magistrates are officers elected by the people; that the offices are the chief spoils of the local politicians, and to get and keep them the end and aim of their existence. Now, as soon as the sheriff discovered that his total fees as turnkey were being reduced in amount, that the number of his boarders was lessened, and dire destruction threatened his almost sole business and occupation, he was not slothful in finding out the cause; and he found that it was not because petty crime was less in that county, but because the magistrates, in obedience to the then new provisions of law, had sent all the sixty-day prisoners to the penitentiary. The jail-keeper himself will tell you he is not there for the purpose of lessening crime, nor are his nights disturbed nor is his rest broken by reflections upon the wisest methods of reform for the petty criminal. Under the present system his object, for reasons personal to himself, lies in the other

direction. His interest as an office-holder, paid by fees as turnkey and by board money, is in a frequent opening of the doors and in having the jail well filled with boarders. So, to stop this depletion of his income, and to prevent the office of jail-keeper from becoming utterly useless as a money-making position, his political training and party standing were of use to him; and it needed but a word or a hint of his wishes to his co-politico magistrates to have them avoid the strict provisions of the new law, from the observance of which something of advantage and benefit to the public, and to the criminal, in the way of training, discipline, and reform, was reasonably to be expected. And this avoidance they each of them evidenced by thereafter sentencing all the petty criminals who were convicted before them to fifty-nine days in the county jail instead of to sixty days in the penitentiary.

We found that neither sheriff, nor jail-keeper, nor magistrate could be expected to evince any regard for law or for public opinion, or any respect for the requirements of a sincere and strict performance of the duties of the office of the petty magistrate, for the possible reform of the criminal or the duties of the good citizen, if their party leaders for any reason required it to be otherwise, or if the personal advantage of the party office-holder thereby assumed any risk. This was a verification, from his own neighborhood, of the apothegm of the Bishop, "that a public office is a private snap." To counteract this intentional violation of their official duties, and the non-observance by the magistrate of the provisions of this excellent law, it was suggested that the office of jail-keeper be made a salaried office, at such salary as the several Boards of Supervisors should fix, and the price of board of the criminal be limited to a sum not to exceed the highest price paid to the penitentiary, or one dollar and a half per week. This method, it was thought, would in a large degree reduce the annual expenses of the jail, remove the chief inducement to keeping it full of boarders, and by indirection relieve the magistrates from the temptation to maintain their party standing by subserving the material business interests of one of their local party leaders. But this proposition never passed beyond the point of suggestion. And, while it was deemed to be in every way practical, no organized and persistent effort was ever made to enact it into a law.

I do not feel that, by whatever else I may say to you, I can make clearer the present condition of the "County Jails as Reformatory Institutions." The subject of the care and reform of petty crimi-

nals is one which, on its practical side, touches life and society at many points. If we deal with it broadly, in general terms, or upon the highest ethical plane, we shall escape all criticism save such as is borne in the ordinary and usual phrases which follow every *a priori* discussion,—that it harms no one and may please for a time those who engage in it, but that liberty and the State are still safe. But when one attempts, in some practical way, from a benevolent, or philanthropic, or charitable, or scientific motive, to interfere with the established and time-worn methods, and to change any system or part of a system of *quasi*-organized public and State institutional or jurisprudential polity, at that moment he moves upon a watchful and suspicious public force, and touches the sensitive tentacles of the commonalty themselves at many points. He must of necessity, in the present order of things, interfere with the vested interest of the politician, the purveyor of offices, the office-holder and office-seeker; the distiller, brewer, and liquor-dealer; the parents of children either born into a career of crime or led by the failings and neglect of their natural guardians and by the temptations of their environment to fall into it. He will also touch the penurious private citizen at his most sensitive point of tax-paying; and the intending reformer's patience will be tried to the last degree of endurance by the foolish and affected sentimentalists, whose interest in the criminal class early and easily, but repeatedly, expends itself in a few caramels and flowers, and in vacuous phrases of prim and prudish pretensions. It was in the West, where a visitor at the jail said to the man behind the bars, "Poor, poor man! may I offer you this bunch of flowers?" and he replied, "You've made a mistake, Miss: the fellow that killed his wife and children is in the next cell. I'm yere for stealin' a cow." And all these will, each in his own chosen way, express his opposition, and condemn at the first hearing every contemplated reform, whatever may be its historical support or scientific merit. And it is just here, at the outset of any well-considered work in this direction,—when one meets with a difficulty in arousing any active and intelligent interest in the career and reformation of misdemeanants, and with the loud and exaggerated expression of opposition on the part of the thoughtless and really indifferent citizen,—that one almost despairs of the real usefulness of any effort on his part toward this end. I know nothing of the "higher criticism"; but, with this before me, I lose faith in the early maturity of the promises of poetic prophecy, when, with impunity, the "sucking child

shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den."

Crime may be defined as a violation of public law. In ancient times, when there was no organized society, and before man was possessed of any belief in personal rights of property or life, when "might was right," and brute force ruled every tribe and family, almost every person may be said to have been, more or less, a criminal, and crime to have been a violation of private right, and perhaps of divine law. Those men and women who, then living, perceived in themselves and their fellows the possession of a moral sense, who listened to its precepts, assented to and obeyed its suggestions, being guided by it in the conduct of their lives, finally brought the human race up to that point of development where society could be organized upon a civilizing basis.

Since that day, by slow degrees, but with halting footsteps, crime has gradually decreased. But it still remains what it has always been, a difficult problem with which to deal. The theologian has endeavored to treat it by an exegesis of the text, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," and he has failed; the missionary has tried to cure it by a distribution of "tracts" among criminals, upon some irrelevant topic, and he has failed; and society, while protecting itself in a slight measure from the annoyance and expense of crime and the criminal by the enactment of laws of more or less efficacy for the time being, which laws, by providing for the detention and punishment of the criminal, have done nothing in the direction of a permanent reform, may also be said to have failed. But I am persuaded we shall, by the labors of Christian men and women, by the studies of scientific men into the laws of life, and in their physiological and psychological researches, discover at the last the causes of crime to which an abundant remedy may be applied.

I have been greatly interested in a paper read before the Indiana Medical Society in June, 1891, by Gonzalva C. Smythe, M.D., upon "The Influence of Heredity in producing Disease and Degeneracy," to much of which I incline to give my entire asssent. In course of his discussion of his topic, he says: "It is conceded now by almost everybody that insanity is not a disease of that immaterial, unknown quantity formerly known as the mind; but, on the contrary, it is an abnormal physiological and psychological manifestation of a physically diseased and degenerate nervous system. It is impossible for me to conceive of a mind separate and

distinct from a brain, any more readily than of digestion without a stomach and gastric juice, or the secretion of bile without a liver. . . . This unfortunate class of patients is no longer regarded as demoniacs, and the clergy is no longer expected to relieve them of devils by casting them out. It is certainly a physical disease, and in a large proportion of cases is caused by heredity. But it may be based upon an acquired condition, which is also clearly transmissible to offspring. . . . Crime based on a degeneration of the nerve tissue, inherited in this manner, is a physical disease as certainly as insanity and inebriety, and is the result of imperfect cerebration of a badly constructed brain. The thoughts, feelings, desires, impulses, and, in fact, all his actions, the inability to restrain himself even when he is fully aware that he is committing a crime against the law and humanity, is a physiological and psychological result of the anatomical construction of the criminal's brain."

If this position be scientifically correct, you will readily perceive the variance in their respective directions of the lines along which run the causes of crime and the methods which have been adopted for its reformation and cure.

There will be no difficulty attending any effort to find testimony to establish the fact that crime, like insanity and inebriety, is hereditary. The history of the Jukes family, by Mr. Dugdale, the reports of the State Boards of Charities and of city missionaries, and many monographs upon special cases will abundantly supply the evidence if the facts should be disputed.

If the cause of any human ill is discovered, and the fact be admitted that such ill is transmissible to offspring, a great light is at once let in upon the way to its cure; and the duty is clear, if you could remove it. The criminals which we are considering are classed as petty criminals, or misdemeanants. As the degree of their crime is deemed to be petty and their punishment for a short period only, one might reasonably presume that it should not be a difficult matter with which to deal, nor one the reformation and removal of which might not be accomplished. But it is far otherwise. We have been too lenient towards crime and its causes, and towards its miserable subjects. The labors of Howard and Dorothea Dix, and of all the other benevolent saints, philanthropists, and preachers who have heretofore undertaken in all sincerity the accomplishment of so beneficent a work, have so far all but utterly failed. All that we in this nineteenth century have to show as the outcome of all their labors is the institution now known

as the County Jail. As practically administered, I have fully described it to you. It still remains as it was before the fathers, and the practices and methods of its administration are but little, if any, better now than then. I do not hesitate to say that, as Reformatories, they are false in name; that they are utter, absolute, and positive failures, a disgrace to our boasted and boastful civilization, a preposterous institution, worthy only of plenary condemnation when measured by the tenets of the Christian religion, and, when contrasted with the conceits of mankind, fit subjects only for the scornful laughter of the gods.

As reformatory institutions, they do not reform, but they impair. The confinement therein, in idleness, is an entirely inadequate punishment; and they are always a refuge for the hardened and incorrigible misdemeanants, who oftentimes commit a petty crime in order that they may be committed there during the winter months, as it is for them the warmest, most social, and best provisioned abode to which they have ready access. The discipline does not deter any one from the violation and continued violation of law; and, as jails exist to-day, with but one or two notable exceptions, they serve the public only as the preparatory school for advancement in crime, out of which the most apt pupils are matriculated into the State Prison and to moral death.

If such an institution be allowed to live; if its defects of administration be continued, and such direful results be viewed henceforward with the same constant and apathetic indifference as in the past; if the care and treatment of petty criminals be not changed and the canons of jail discipline be not made more consonant with the rights of the individual, as maintained in a well-ordered community; if we still close our eyes to the immoral epidemic which so insidiously encompasses and attacks the young, the ignorant, and the inexperienced, and, still refusing to them a helping hand, we blindly follow the insufficient, destructive, and inequitable methods of the present system,— I cannot refrain from asking, in view of the creeds of the churches, of the preaching of the Divine Master, of our duties under the maxims of good citizenship, of our education and of our own self-respect, in what set terms we may express the excuses for our neglect, of how we can make answer to the prayer of, "Lead us not into temptation," nor of how society before the everlasting judgments of God can stand justified.

I have no quarrel with any one who deems my judgment too

severe, or who may differ from me in opinion as to the remedy for all this ill which I have to offer for your consideration; nor any vanity to be hurt if my propositions for the reform of petty criminals be wholly rejected. The suggestions I make, as tending towards the result we all are seeking, may perhaps furnish a standing place, if nothing more, for the discussion, or the beginning of a new consideration, of this important and vital question of sociology, What to do with the petty criminal and with the incorrigible misdemeanant? And, if such standing place only be adopted and such discussion be begun on these lines, I shall be content.

If these statements regarding the county jails are a fair disclosure of their present condition and administration, and of their complete failure as reformatory institutions, then, of course, as places for confinement of convicts, we must adjudge that they should be abolished; for otherwise we condemn ourselves. But before such a change in the administration of our criminal jurisprudence is made, some substitute must be devised and provided to take their place, such as will more equitably and wisely meet the intrinsic necessities of the question, and tend in a larger degree both to reform the ordinary criminal and to reduce crime I shall express my suggestions towards such a change in a formal way, and as briefly as their number and scope will permit.

First.— Petition the legislature for an act directing the governor to appoint an independent and non-partisan commission of five persons, to be composed of both men and women, without salary, their personal expenses only being paid, to serve for two years; they being directed to personally visit and examine every jail and penitentiary in the State, and report to the legislature upon their location, architecture, sanitary condition, adaptation to their present pretended use as reformatory institutions, and also upon the number, sex, age, parentage, residence, occupation, and nationality of the inmates.

Second.— Based upon such report, an act should be prepared providing for the establishment of workhouses and reform and nautical schools, to which all petty criminals should be thereafter committed; and the jails as places for the confinement of petty criminals should thereafter be abolished. The act should embrace, in every possible aspect and regard, the future care, punishment, and reformation of the inmates, and a strict observance of its provisions be made mandatory upon all the courts. The respective

workhouses and schools for males and females should be located in different districts; and the districts may, for convenience and economy, be composed of several counties. The various schools of instruction and occupations of the inmates should be placed under the care, visitation, and supervision of either the Superintendent of Prisons or of the State Board of Charities; or, better still, of a local, independent, non-partisan board of three or five persons, both men and women, resident in the district in which their institutions are located, and to be known as the Board of Control of Reformatory Institutions. To this board, in conjunction with the superintendent or matron in charge, should be left the entire care, instruction, occupation, and final disposition and discharge of the inmates. The habitual drunkard should be sent to an inebriate asylum; and both he and the incorrigible criminal should be sentenced indeterminately, and without power of pardon by the Executive. The Board of Control for each district to meet all the other boards in the State at stated quarterly periods, to compare their work, discuss new problems appertaining to their work, as they may arise, and to make annually a joint report to the legislature.

Third.— Every subordinate officer and employee, under the Superintendent of Prisons, and all such as may have the charge and superintendence of the proposed workhouses and Reform and Nautical Schools, under the State Board of Charities, or the proposed local Board, shall be classified under and placed within the provisions of the Civil Service Law, so that every superintendent, official, matron, employee, servant, and laborer therein shall be removed from partisan politics.

Fourth.— Add to the duties of the State Board of Health an active and compulsory examination and oversight over the physical and sanitary condition of each workhouse, school, and inmate, with ample powers to effect all proposed changes, and to employ the inmates, if desirable, upon any work of public drainage and otherwise, and to report in detail each year.

Fifth.— Congress should pass an Act forbidding the landing of any immigrant in whose family there has been a convicted criminal for the past three generations. Each immigrant to furnish such evidence by affidavit of two unrelated persons, to be sworn before, and a certificate thereon obtained to that effect from, the American consul at the port of departure. Every steamship or sailing vessel to be heavily fined if convicted of bringing any immigrant without such certificate.

Sixth.— The passage of a strenuous compulsory education law, with appointment of truant officers to attend to its enforcement, such truant officers to be under the Civil Service Law.

Seventh.— Absolute prohibition of sale or delivery of intoxicating liquors to minors, under penalty of forfeiture of license.

Eighth.— An absolute provision of law for a complete jail delivery every thirty days.

Ninth.— Especial provision for absolute separation of husband and wife when either or both are criminals, and also the separation of children from criminal parents, with provisions for their care and education in some institution during minority.

Such, in brief and informally, are the suggestions I have to submit to you, as the results of such consideration as I have given to the topic in hand. They are submitted with a slight hope that they may give some direction to a more philosophical and equitable solution of our difficulties by persons of more experience and riper judgment.

The inexorable logic of the laws of nature I deem to be a great encouragement to any future efforts of the sociologist to make our common jails to be reformatory institutions in fact as they have heretofore been in name and intent, but which in reality are such lamentable and disastrous failures. For if, by observation and reflection, both the physical and mental bias and idiosyncrasy of the misdemeanant can be accurately discerned, what can prevent, by a careful induction, the ascertainment of the cause? and, the cause being discovered, a remedy may be applied. If it be ignorance, you may compel study; if alcoholism, restraint and abstinence; if heredity, a change of environment, diet, and discipline; if idleness, a compulsion to labor and to the conquest of slothfulness. But, if after all has been done that can be done, the criminal be incorrigible, then for him only absolute and final seclusion from the world, without power of pardon by any executive authority, will meet the just demands of society and of the highest equity.

To accomplish such results, you have the willing aid of a large body of helpers: the great majority of estimable citizens who keep the law and preserve the autonomy of the State; the clergy, whose office and province it is now, as it has always been and will remain, to preserve among the people the "abiding naturalness and beauty of the sentiment of patriotism," to inculcate the noblest spirit of civic virtue and public duty, and to teach in words of liv-

ing light how far above the mere self-satisfaction of the Christianity of talk is the more exceeding glory of the Christianity of thinking and doing; the learned body of scientists, with all the world as their realm, to whom nothing is foreign which relates to either the "magnitude of nature or the majesty of man"; and those many philanthropists, patriots, and reformers, lovers of their country, and of children, of men and women, of the poor, the neglected, the outcast, and the criminal, towards whom society in general, from fear or indifference, offers but an averted head. From all these and more we shall find such aid and help in our endeavors, shall in the end reach such grand results of accomplishment, that, to others who follow, the public prophecy of the millennium on the earth shall become the supreme article of their faith, a record of the promise of Scripture engraved upon the hearts of men, an assurance of the wisdom, and desire for justice in mankind, and of the divine origin of the attributes of human love. You will not despair, even if the mite of your sympathy shall fall without clangor into the treasury of public opinion, and the State shall seem to reject the gift; for on your way to the new home which shall yet be erected for these wayward children of men your footsteps shall lead you past an altar upon which is this superscription: "He that goeth forth in humility, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

AMERICAN CHILDHOOD FROM A MEDICAL STANDPOINT.

BY HENRY LING TAYLOR, M.D.

A good deal has been said and written about our national temperament and physique; and it is doubtless true that the various stocks of the Old World, transplanted to our soil and subjected to new conditions of life, have felt the moulding influences of changed surroundings. The human organism is pre-eminent in its marvellous adaptability to the most varied conditions of life. It has complex mechanisms which convey, store up, modify, and discharge the showers of impressions constantly received through nerve-endings in the skin, membranes, and tissues, as well as through the organs of special sense. We recognize that different individuals and races react somewhat differently to stimuli: they have inherited or acquired special characteristics of mind and body, largely due to habits evoked by special surroundings, and ingrained by frequent repetition, whether in themselves or in their ancestors. If inherited bias counts for very much in moulding the organism, this is equally true of impressions frequently repeated, or the steady push of constantly acting, though it may be scarcely noticed, forces.

Conspicuous factors in modern life are the extreme specialization of pursuits and occupations, tending to narrow and restrict experience, and the herding together of dense masses of population in large cities, toward which the more venturesome and ambitious individuals tend to gravitate, and where larger opportunities are provided, only at the cost of more strenuous competition, and in many respects less favorable hygienic conditions. Success is paid for, both directly and remotely, in pounds of flesh. It has been claimed that the strongest blood cannot endure continuous city life for more than three generations, but must be kept alive by the infusion of country blood or by the return in some degree to country life. Thus our large cities are a kind of biological furnace, which in the end consumes the lives supplied to it, in order to obtain the product in trade, science, and art. If, in the course of this fiery ordeal, the individual receives a keener temper or a finer

polish, he may not become stronger physically or better balanced mentally; and thousands, unable to endure the strain, are cast off or incapacitated, while hundreds of thousands are not able to transmit to their children the physical endowment which they themselves originally possessed. It is the purpose of this paper to study the physiological tendency of the forces to which many American children are subjected, especially in our largest cities, where the logical effects of characteristic habits or traits are most strikingly evident. Physicians know that city children get too little light and air, do not take enough of the right kind of exercise, are often overfed or underfed, are pushed or pampered too much in their studies, and especially in their emotions, and frequently shorten their childhood to become little men and women before emerging from pinafores and knickerbockers. Such criticisms have been frequently passed, and that they are not unfounded we can all testify.

We instinctively recognize more truth than jest in Henry James's description of the little girl who rushed into the parlor on roller skates, shouting, "Get out of the way!" And we have at once a clearer mental picture of her pale, eager face, slim figure, shallow chest, attenuated limbs, and weak ankles, so inevitably does the simple exclamation suggest a correlated and too familiar physique. Healthy immigrants, or country people coming to the city to live, usually lose their fresh, ruddy color in a few months, and their firm flesh becomes flabby, though city people are, as a rule, better walkers and can stand more of certain kinds of exertion. We may take the physique of the little girl on roller skates as a type of frequent occurrence. In children of the corresponding class the feelings may be intense or sluggish, but in either case betray the lack of proper balance and correct discipline. There is a precocity in knowledge of people and social relations,—darkest ignorance with regard to most natural objects and processes. The mind and body may be restlessly active or listless and indolent. In either case the fundamental qualities of docility and poise are lacking. There may be much development on the æsthetic side, or much in comparison with the neglect of the practical. The city child is handicapped from the start. He is usually produced with difficulty from overtaxed and under-nourished, not necessarily underfed stock, rather than from the superabundant vitality of robust natures. The cultured mother rarely has sufficient vigor to nurse her infant, and it is brought up on some substitute,

which, at the best, is but a makeshift. Whatever modern life and culture may have done for our women, they hardly seem, in their extreme forms, to have prepared them for the intelligent care of their offspring, whose arrival is often regarded with pathetic helplessness. There is, however, enough of New England's "inflamed moral sense" in our midst to furnish our women with a fair share of conscience, so that their errors are as apt to be due to oversolicitude as the reverse. Take the matter of clothing, for example: this is frequently piled on till the hapless youngster presents the appearance of a bale of millinery, impeding movements, keeping the child overheated, and forming a conspicuous part of the hot-house life which the child is henceforth to lead. Literally "hothouse"; for there is something in our houses, their heating apparatus, or the habits of the people, which keeps our residences at a tropical heat during the cold season. I am inclined to think it is partly a result of our high-pressure life. A tired brain and exhausted nerves crave warmth; and indolent or sedentary habits do not predispose one to bear a bracing temperature. Be that as it may, the little ones grow up in an atmosphere of steady, relaxing warmth; and the continual endeavor is to protect them from anything approaching cold. Their baths are usually hot; and there is a noticeable absence of that skin culture which comes naturally to country children, living out of doors, sleeping in a cold room, skating or snow-balling in winter, and swimming in the neighboring pond in summer.

It seems that the whole tendency of city life is toward "making it easy," physically, for the individual by the elimination of all except the simplest demands on the organism,— forgetting that our powers are developed by their cultivation, and inevitably deteriorate with disuse. Our life is so artificial that we require gymnasiums, field-sports, and outings to keep a decent physical equilibrium; and we ought in addition to give particular attention to vascular gymnastics, and to the culture and development of the unstripped muscular fibres, which play so fundamental a part in vital economy, by placing more dependence on their adjustive and resisting powers through a systematic and judicious exposure of the skin to cold water, cold air, and the vicissitudes of weather. As to the diet of children after the nursing age, it is likely that our city children fare better than many of their country cousins. There is probably no country in the world where there is such an attractive variety of cheap and wholesome food of all classes — meats,

cereals, vegetables, and fruit — as in our own. The general habit of fruit-eating, which seems to be growing, is, I believe, salutary, and to be encouraged. Good fruit is practically within the reach of all at all seasons, and we are probably the only nation out of the tropics where fresh fruit is a staple article of diet every day in the year. The temptation and tendency in the diet of children are toward an over-indulgence in animal and saccharine food and in elaborate made dishes; and the practice of allowing children to eat at the same hours with their elders, and substantially the same things, is liable to result in a trying regimen for the child.

In regard to fresh air, the youthful citizen of the metropolis is not likely to get too much of it indoors, and the few hours a day spent on the sidewalk or in a perambulator are a sorry substitute for rolling over the grass or tumbling about the door-yard. When the child is a few years older, the difficulty is increased. Young children are in constant motion; and this is Nature's method of educating the muscles and nerve-centres in the selection and development of those complicated associated movements and correlated reactions which finally form the automatic groundwork of our life. We are brought by these means into contact with all kinds of natural objects, in order that we may become aware of their attributes and react promptly and advantageously to their stimulation. The city child, however, instead of soil with its diversified coverings, has hard and mostly level floors or pavements; instead of grateful greenish, bluish, or brownish tints, the patchwork surface of our houses and streets; and, instead of restful silence or simple and harmonious sounds, the irritating jar of complicated, intense, and discordant noises. We may compare the conditions to which the city child is subjected to the life of a trainman, who is hampered in his movements and at the same time subjected to storms of auditory, visual, and other impressions in unending succession.

I recently had occasion to compare the development of a typical city boy of eighteen months with that of a little girl of fifteen months brought up in a small inland town. The boy was the only child of cultivated city parents. The little girl was the youngest of several children, and her parents were plain tradespeople. Though the girl had congenital club-foot and had never walked, she had remarkably good control over the movements of the arms, legs, head, and trunk. She placed her finger on or grasped an object with exactness, threw a ball with force and precision, and hitched herself about the floor with great dexterity and rapidity.

All her movements were well planned and well executed, and many of them complicated, such as putting a tin cup upon the end of a stick and shaking it without letting it fall off. She could speak only a few words, but had a great deal to say in her baby language. The expression on her face was placid and contented, though often animated ; and she would sit for hours on the floor and amuse herself. She rarely cried, took her daily naps as a matter of course, and slept quietly all night. Teething did not annoy her, and, in spite of irregular feeding, her digestion was good.

The little boy refused to creep or sit on the floor at all, but ran about incessantly. His movements, except locomotion, were far less complicated and precise than those of his playmate. He could not put the cup on the stick, though he tried repeatedly, nor throw a ball nearly so well. He was incessantly and intensely interested in the things he saw, but only fixed his attention on an object for an instant. He had no initiative ; and, as he was unable to amuse himself, he was never left alone. He talked a great deal, but not plainly, and understood nearly everything that was said to him ; and it pleased him to mimic the little girl's ways and prattle. He was very fond of having the piano played to him, and could always distinguish the tunes he had heard a few times. He was bright and intelligent, and, when feeling well, very good and happy, but was a bad sleeper, and at times cross and fretful. In spite of scrupulous attention to diet, he was a martyr to indigestion, and teething caused him much suffering.

It is noticeable that many city children are thrown more among adults and less with children than is desirable, partly from the custom of relegating a large part of the parental responsibility to a nurse, partly from the small average number of children in a family, and partly from the limiting conditions of city life, which are somewhat unfavorable to real sociability. The chances are that, unless a child runs the streets, he will see more of two or three or half a dozen adults than of all the rest of the world put together. This is abnormal and unwholesome, as it deprives the child of the kind of mental stimulus aud discipline suited to his age, and substitutes something wholly inappropriate and harmful in its tendency. When the school years come, the children have companionship, at least in school hours, but also in many instances an imperfect school hygiene, with its bad air, poor light, cramped positions, and other drawbacks. Dr. C. F. Folsom says of city school children, " Pale faces, languid work, poor appetite, dis-

turbed sleep, headache, and what is vaguely called nervousness, are more common among them than they should be among children of their ages," and speaks of "constitutions weakened during the school years instead of strengthened, as they should be."

On account of lack of familiarity with country life, many city children of the lower school grades, as shown by President G. Stanley Hall, have the most extraordinarily distorted ideas about the commonest natural objects and phenomena, and much of this mass of misinformation remains in adult life. On the other hand, they may be keen judges of character and conduct, and be well able to hold their own in a bargain or an argument. Of a class of about thirty girls from eight to thirteen years of age, living east of the Bowery, only three had been in Central Park, and only four had ever visited the country. When taken to Central Park by a friend, they first asked if they might step on the grass, and then, with the natural instinct of young animals, lay down and rolled on it.

As already remarked, it is natural for the young child to move about and change its attitude almost incessantly. In the words of Sir William Jenner, "it joys to exercise every muscle"; and it is equally true that its eyes, attention, and mind should never be directed continuously at one object for very long. A child loves to glance at this object, pick up that, reach out for a third, and not restlessly, but wonderingly, caressingly, and joyously, just as, a short time before, the infant played contentedly with its rattle or its ring, waving it about or putting it into its mouth with endless repetition, but always without studious observation or strain of attention. I am afraid we often injure these small eyes and tender brains by requiring continuous repose of body and fixation of eye and attention on some one object, as is often done in the kindergarten and primary work, at the cost of ocular and nervous strain; and this, combined with bad light and general driving, may account for much of modern myopia, headache, and nervous troubles. We should advance in the education of muscle, eye, and brain from the general to the particular, and impose no task requiring precision or intense application upon young children. Nature is a good schoolmistress; and her lessons are fundamental ones, no matter how much we may supplement them at school or university. The infant is learning fundamental lessons in the correlation of muscle, brain, and sense through the almost incessant activity of his arms and legs, at first without purpose, afterward in

reaching, grasping, or trying to move about, and also when he smiles back at his mother or is quieted by her voice. So is the child, repeating nursery rhymes or busy with its quiet play or romping games; or the youth with his carpenters' tools, or riding, swimming, or hunting,—and learning just as truly, and perhaps more truly, than the student burning midnight oil over Greek and calculus. Nature is never systematic in the school sense; and, however much we may systematize, we must at the same time cultivate our powers and round out our individuality by keeping in touch with so much of Nature and man as lies within our horizon, in a restful, informal way. If a man is to develop into something more than a machine or formula, he should be encouraged from childhood to bring all his powers into relation with his environment and to seek a wide range of adjustments between himself and the outer world, beyond the treadmill round of special or formal pursuits which necessarily occupy much of his attention. Many fail to appreciate the importance of this indispensable natural culture, and endeavor to supplant the spontaneous by the formal. I know of a little girl whose interest in flowers was destroyed by an attempt to teach her technical botany at too early an age, forgetting that it means more to love flowers than to know botany. In another case, the attempt was made to substitute history for a boy's ordinary reading, with the result of spoiling the boy. On reaching manhood, his favorite author was E. P. Roe.

Correct mental reactions must be based upon correct physical reactions, which are naturally evoked by a free, open-air life. As Lowell puts it: "The driving-wheels of all-powerful Nature are in the back of the head. . . . But it is ill with a nation when the cerebrum sucks the cerebellum dry, for it cannot live by intellect alone. The broad foreheads always carry the day at last, but only when they are based on or buttressed with massive hindheads. . . . Moreover, brain is always to be bought; but passion never comes to market."

The city boy's supplemental training at school is far from perfect, but his fundamental, unstudied training by contact with Nature in the free use of his proper activities is wofully deficient. If restricted to the city, he can hardly become familiar with any natural objects but a few animals, building materials, and foodstuffs. His notion of such fundamental objects as the sky or horizon must be extremely hazy. His relations with people, or at least with certain individuals, are likely to be too close. He cannot

escape from them, and is overstimulated or overpowered. This leads me to speak of family life as we observe it,— perhaps the most important factor of all in the child's development, physical as well as mental and moral.

It is sometimes claimed that women are not so good housekeepers and home-makers as formerly; and, if this be true, it is not altogether their fault. It is not to be denied that the number of families in New York, for instance, is far in excess of the number of homes. The tendency with us is for the mistress of the house to participate less and less in the details of household management, and much of the work is left to hirelings inside and outside of the premises. The desire to diminish some of the difficulties of city housekeeping has caused the wholesale introduction of flats, which are, as a rule, cramped and poorly lighted, and, to say the least, ill adapted for the rearing of children. Rooms in suites have made it possible to dispense with the kitchen and its autocrat, and the disintegration of the home is complete in boarding-houses and hotels. The promiscuity of the tenement is equally unfavorable to a home atmosphere and home employments. The modest requirement of a small, plain house, with light and air on all sides, is beyond the reach of the millionnaire. Unless we stop to think, we are apt to forget how high a price we pay for the privilege of such laborious striving and cramped living.

So much has been said about the frivolity, incompetence, or fussiness of American mothers that it will not be amiss to inquire into the characteristics of our fathers of families. With the best intentions in the world, the time that a city man can spend with his family is usually very limited; and he is not always in the mood to exert a helpful influence, when he returns at night worn out with business cares, and often prefers the club, lodge, or neighboring corner to his family circle. His wife may see little of him, and his children less. It is not a matter of indifference, however, even in regard to health, whether the children enjoy a due proportion of their father's companionship; for that is or should be a vital factor in the children's growth and education, and, whenever they are deprived of it, certain elements of character and mind are almost always absent. Look around among your friends where the children have grown up without a father, and see if your observation does not show that there is some quality of mind or heart, some check or balance wanting, that no one else could supply. I observe that American fathers, whether from the exactions of business or other

reasons, do not ordinarily come to my office with their ailing children. The whole matter is often left in the hands of the wife or some relative. Germans are more apt to come than Americans, and Hebrews most of all; and, indeed, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the domestic life of the better class of Jews in New York, which, so far as I have observed it, is in many respects more nearly what it should be than that of any class in our community.

Body and mind grow together. What affects the one must affect the other, so that, if the influence of either parent is withdrawn, the due proportion or balance is lost, and certain physical as well as mental peculiarities in the children are dwarfed or accentuated. The home atmosphere often determines the mental and moral, and consequently the physical tone, of the children. I claim distinctly that an atmosphere of frivolity, indolence, self-consciousness, fussiness, discontent, sentimentality, or meanness cannot be without serious effects, not only on the character, but on the physique. Selfishness in any form is not only unattractive, but it is unwholesome. It is a depressant to the system. *Per contra*, high and well-rounded living not only makes sound thinking, but it abbreviates doctors' bills. It is a truism to say that no one has so much to do with the child's acquisition of a healthy moral and physical tone as his parents. But few realize how tremendous a factor in the evolution of the individual we touch at this point. We need the mother's influence and the father's influence in the family, and also the influence of the children on each other. First children, last children, only children, children of small and large families, all have their special attributes and defects. The child is receiving and adjusting, every instant, impressions that will positively determine not only his future career, but his bodily structure. Parents and care-takers must see that these impressions are useful and true.

The means in the control of the physician are as nothing compared to home influences and conditions in shaping a healthy mind and body. The reactions most frequently evoked will be the dominating ones. As Bacon puts it, "Therefore since Custome is the principle Magistrate of a Man's life, let Man by all Means endeavour to obtain good Customes. Certainly Custome is most perfect when it beginneth in Young Years. This we call Education; which is in effect but an early Custome." Or as another says: "In the conduct of life, habits count for more than maxims, because

habit is a living maxim, become flesh and instinct. To reform one's maxims is nothing: it is but to change the title of the book. To learn new habits is everything, for it is to reach the substance of life. Life is but a tissue of habits" (Amiel's Journal, page 7). All of which applies cogently to the physical as to the mental. "Nothing has ever been invented to take the place of a 'bringing up.'" The home has been compared to the ship-yard, where the vessel's construction is slowly and painstakingly elaborated step by step, so that the structure be able to outride the strains and disintegrating tendencies that are sure to attack it later, just as the growing human organism is built up, under fostering influences, by the gradual incorporation of helpful habits and useful physical reactions. Self-control and transparent honesty in the parent are as essential as obedience and self-reliance in the child. "He that will have a cake of the wheat must tarry for the grinding." The child does not exist who can grow up natural or healthy without a fair share of wholesome neglect and judicious exposure. Few realize the tremendous risk of over-caution and over-attention. A youngster is invariably happier with few and simple playthings than with a multitude of complicated toys. There is no such good fun or good training as making one's self useful, and it is cruelty to deprive the child of this pleasure and stimulus. Let the brain and body be trained through hand, foot, and eye. Dump a load of sand into the back yard, and let the children roll in it. Give the boys a carpenter's bench; encourage the girls to do housework.

Where possible, let both boy and girl have a little garden patch, if only a few feet square, and the care of a few plants. A woman in her home, a man in his garden,— this seems to be a fundamental type from which we cannot entirely depart without risk to body and mind. The training of the muscular reflexes should go hand in hand with the cultivation of simple, natural, beneficent reactions in the higher planes. Cheerfulness, sincerity, industry, perseverance, and unselfishness may be acquired by practice and constant repetition, as much as the art of correct speaking or of playing the piano, and are far more necessary to health. We must have a basis of correct fundamental physical and psychical reactions as a help toward a proper balance between feeling and will, or our subsequent building will rest on a foundation of sand. How often is a physician hampered in his efforts to help some sufferer, because the latter has never acquired the art of obedience, or because he cannot tolerate a tongue-depresser, or swallow a pill or any un-

palatable mixture, or take milk or some mainstay of diet; or because he cannot be left alone, or sleep in the daytime, or wear flannels, or sit still, or bear pain, or use his muscles, or take in certain classes of facts or ideas! These and similar peculiarities, which are a formidable hindrance to the physician, and may be a matter of life or death to the sufferer, can usually be prevented by a little care or overcome by proper training. They are often the result of carelessness or over-indulgence, or that kind of cowardice which instinctively avoids the disagreeable instead of facing a difficulty fairly and conquering it.

Another way in which children are injured is by being used as playthings for the amusement of relatives and friends. There is the temptation, well-nigh irresistible, to show them off, if they are bright, or later to push them along in school or society, sacrificing wholesome symmetry to immediate showy effect. This tendency has largely moulded our private schools, for girls especially, whose basis is too often sentimentality of some sort; and sentimentality is a form of narrowness, an incapacity for seeing things in their true proportions.

There is one characteristic of our metropolitan life so salient that it can hardly fail to make itself felt, even in childhood. I mean the mad chase after the dollar, the cause of much of the killing tension of city life. It is curious to note that the nation that is conspicuous by the absence of this spirit — I mean the Japanese — has probably the best behaved children in the world, and is the land of happy childhood. A crying baby is to them a curiosity. This straining of powers till they crack, this incessant fiddling at the nerves, is apt to make our city life restless, asymmetrical, and unsatisfactory. The children feel it and show it in their faces, in the sensitive structure of their bodies, and in the affections and diseases to which they are subject. And this nervous tension, as much as our tropical summer climate, has necessitated that periodical return to Nature, or summer outing, which is a national habit, and is the one efficient means, if properly used, of combating the disintegrating tendencies of city life.

The children of the poor, in spite of many drawbacks, fare better in some respects than those of the well-to-do. They often respond better to treatment when they are sick. They are at least not deprived of that contact with their fellows and struggle for existence which is absolutely essential to health: whereas the children of the so-called higher classes are too often educated in sen-

sitiveness, and false and hurtful views of life, not always by precept or example, but by force of circumstances. A colleague, who is intimately acquainted with the physical condition of some eight thousand children, taken from the worst classes in New York, who have in the course of several years passed through a public institution under his care, says that they improve so much after having enjoyed for a few months the ample diet and simple and regular life provided that their physical condition compares favorably with that of any class of children in New York.

Much of what has been said applies to certain classes in certain restricted localities, and it may be thought that the picture is an exaggerated one; but I maintain that the physique of the children that are now growing up under our eyes is not, on the whole, satisfactory, and that it is a difficult matter to bring up wholesome, hearty children in New York, for example. If this is true, it is well to recognize the fact. The average conditions, both within and without the family, seem restricted and unnatural. Fortunately, there is a large amount of sturdy stock throughout the land, brought up to individual independence in contact with Nature, and in wholesome home surroundings, upon which we can draw indefinitely.

It is true that the advantages are not all on the side of country life; that the struggle with Nature may be strenuous, and the living narrow and poor; and that, on the other hand, the conditions of city life may bring a better diet and a better knowledge of personal hygiene. Indeed, it is claimed that during our Civil War certain city regiments stood campaigning better than the men from the country, possibly because they better understood how to take care of themselves. All this does not militate against my position that the conditions of country life are, or may be made, more favorable for children.

Just because life in our large centres puts such pressure on men and women do we get such remarkable effects in certain directions. Much of the world's best work is the direct result, but it is usually the effect, of such stimulation on broad and healthy natures developed partly or wholly in the country; and ultimately, unless there are considerable interruptions, the individual or the family is stamped out, as in every individual or family which pursues a too restricted, too artificial, or too one-sided career.

Papers of the Social Economy Department.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM

IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

I. SWEATING IN GERMANY.

BY REV. J. G. BROOKS, OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The long public discussion of Sweating in England, which preceded and followed the Report of the House of Lords Committee, makes possible, at least, some intelligible statement of the evils, real and imaginary, which the public has long connected with sweating. No one had previously given even a manageable definition of the word. The testimony elicited by this report gives us twenty-three definitions. Eighteen of them have nothing whatever in common. Of the remaining five, it will be found a very formidable task to get into them or out of them any unity of meaning. The actual history of the word is helpful. Like *Sans-culotte*, "Democrat," "Puritan," "Mugwump," it was a term of reproach coined by the enemy. Its first use seems to have been against those tailors who took home their work instead of doing it at the shop, presumably using wife and child, and also working overtime. Though the word later was applied to innumerable other trades and conditions, it is significant that the tailors' trade has longest borne and still bears the chief stigma. The reason is doubtless that this craft in England and America more easily than most others lends itself to a pitiless use of human weakness. Jewish immigration of the lower orders furnishes a vast percentage of those whose necessities can be instantly exploited. Usury is hardly more connected with Jewish traditions than the traffic in and patching of "ole clo'." Miss Potter, in her careful study of the London tailoring trade, seems to be dealing almost exclusively with Jews.

The fact also that the labor supply of sewing capacity of a simpler sort is, perhaps, larger than that of any other form of lower, unskilled labor, gives us the precise conditions which make possible many and very real evils,— evils, too, for which it is despairingly difficult to fix the responsibility. I know of no serious study of sweating that denies the fact of the evil. I know of none that has, except in the vaguest way, told us just who — even what class — is at fault. Formerly it was confidently claimed that the "sub-contractor" was the man. We now believe that the "sub-

contractor" cannot possibly be made to bear exclusively any such burden. Many of the worst evils exist wholly independent of such a functionary. The ills are covered even less by the term "middleman," while "capitalist" is least of all applicable. The largest shops in every country present, *upon the whole*, the least cruelty to the weaker workers.

Some such general word is necessary to any clear discussion of this evil in Germany. It even helps us that the word "sweating" does not exist either in French or German; but both use, what I conceive to be much fitter for the fact, a generic term like *Ausbeutung*, or exploiter. The statistician, Mr. Charles Booth, in as careful a study as has yet been made, admitted the evil with utmost emphasis; but he easily raised havoc with those who had fixed the responsibility so narrowly upon certain persons or classes.

When asked to prepare this paper, I wrote to the man whom I believe to be the best equipped in Germany to answer it. He replied, "We have no sweating." Yet among trained economists there is no bitterer critic against capitalist production in its effects upon the skilless and ignorant workers. His error, from the older English standpoint, was manifest. He knew merely of the narrower question, as it existed in the popular mind in England. A German acquainted with the facts would quickly enough acknowledge the various evils which we shall probably more and more learn cannot be classed in any such concrete form as the word "sweating," unless we allow it to connote a whole series of evils that cannot conceivably be fixed to any one function of our industry, or even to any one set of conditions. At the time and place where there is relatively too much ignorant and skilless labor it will almost certainly be taken advantage of. Especially if there is a large number of small employers driven perhaps harder than their laborers by competition, *there* the fatal result will follow that the harder, the meaner, and especially the stupider employer will overwork his helpers. Wherever these conditions exist or in whatever trade, there the thing we call "sweating" is likely to appear. Thus it is chiefly because of the traditional limitations of the word "sweating" that *Ausbeutung*, or exploiter, seems truer to the fact. The entire labor legislation in Germany recognizes no special form of hardship, but a general condition as wide as the laborer's ignorance and weakness. It applies to the sailor as much as to the seamstress, to grown men as well as to children or pregnant women. The economists, the jurists, the State officials, and

multitudes of large business men willingly admit that, in the industrial struggle, the weaker worker is not only hard pushed, but unfairly pushed; yet of far more significance is the admission that this inequality in the struggle cannot longer be left to take care of itself, but must be dealt with by every organized force that society has at its control. The idea that private effort alone is adequate is quite at an end. The real problem now is to know how the State, the commune, and private effort can be combined so as best to cope with the difficulties. The only practical question as between these three functions is one of expediency. Clearly and distinctly it is granted that each has its part to play in making the conditions of industrial life fairer for the weaker. Every assumption on which the vast scheme of compulsory State insurance rests is that this inequality may in part be removed.

The whole body of laws concerning Sunday labor, factory inspection, night work, sanitary conditions, child labor, etc., is the most elaborate and the most aggressive attempt that any people has made to prevent the possibility of "sweating" in its proper sense.

Let it be repeated: this whole legislation assumes, first, that the less favored, the stupid, ignorant, and unfortunate are *Ausgebeutet*, — *sponged*, or "sweated"; and, second, that it is possible for those who have power and influence to do something about it. I pass here no judgment upon this attempt, favorable or otherwise, but only state the commonplace fact of the situation.

What special forms of sweating, akin to the evil as known in England or America, may be said to exist in Germany? The answer takes us at once to the origin of the word itself; namely, to *house industry*.* In no country is industry in the home more widely spread than in Germany, though these industries are not in the least confined to tailoring. A large variety of trades are carried on either wholly or in part in the home. The rapid spread of the small motor is making a still wider use of the home, even for

*The fact that Germany alone has any adequate statistics for measuring the extent of "House Industry" is of special value in considering the subject of "sweating." It is known with considerable accuracy that above five hundred thousand men and women carry on work in the home. This represents nearly 11 per cent. The geographical distribution is also known. The large cities show a percentage from Düsseldorf, 45.1 per cent., Berlin, 29.6 per cent., Leipzig, 18.1, to Dresden, which has only the average percentage of the empire. Shoemaking, tailoring, match boxes, needlework of all kinds, nail-making,—indeed, the very objects we find in England; and, for the same reason, opinions differ radically as to the advantages of this kind of industry. The greater freedom of the home, the protection of the family, and the decreased moral dangers are strongly emphasized by those who see a wider and more hopeful future in the extension of the small motor. Both friend and foe agree, however, that the evils of the present conditions are serious and real.

industries — like different forms of weaving — that had shown so powerful a tendency to concentrate in large factories. As with French towns, the German cities, like Chemnitz, are surrounded by small home centres in which these motors are used. A large manufacturer in Chemnitz told me recently, "My real enemy is the home industry with the small motor." Here was a man with a large business struggling with home industries, and being himself sweated, so that it was a question whether he should continue his business. Authorities like Dr. Albrecht believe the real solution of many of the gravest problems is precisely in this extension of the small motor and the consequent preservation of the family under healthier conditions. Mr. Atkinson in America holds this opinion. Yet, whatever hope there may be in this distributing of force and the consequent lessening of the power of the great city, the fact remains in Germany that all the evils of sweating exist in this house industry,— not primarily because it is in the home, but because the different forms of protective legislation have not yet reached the home. The larger centres are carefully visited by State Inspectors armed with adequate powers; but to visit the house industries of Germany would require four times the present force. Therefore, unwholesome conditions, child labor, long hours, Sunday work, and every conceivable evil that we connect with sweating is at least possible in the home. It is now a bitter complaint of many larger employers that the "little ones" can escape the burdens and expenses which a severe factory inspection imposes upon the larger manufacturers. The very fact that business is being scattered, wherever the small motor can be advantageously used, shows how difficult any adequate inspection will prove; and yet the express purpose of this legislation is to cover the small centres as well as the large. So far as sweating has a cure, no other measures seem possible from the side of the State. From the side of private endeavor, very interesting efforts are being made from several sources. The Church, both Catholic and Protestant, is entering upon a definite and organized scheme of work for the *Arbeiter* class. A union of private and communal effort is producing exceedingly interesting results in fourteen German cities, in establishing Bureaus of Information that are proving of great usefulness, not only to those out of work, but also to those whose conditions of work are unbearable. The leagues against Sunday labor are gaining a real influence. Some two hundred and eighty trades-unions are uniting politically to press

for a shorter working day, while the movement for a minimum wage is gaining the support of very influential names. Restrictive legislation has made the growth of the trade-union very difficult; but since the removal of these laws their growth has been perhaps more rapid than in any other country except France. So far as the laborers in the "sweated industries" can be organized, it is admitted that hopeful resistance can be offered to the sweater. No event so marks the change of opinion in England as the Report of this conservative House of Lords Committee on Sweating. Almost the sole remedy was the advice to the laborers to organize into trade-unions.

It at least seems clear that the evils here considered are so unlike in nature and so various that such remedies as are possible will be neither single nor specific, but such as spring from a wide and general bettering of conditions. Granted that public opinion has become alive to the issues, increased and efficient inspection is admittedly the most definite remedy; but, unless the dull and skilless can be trained into some capacity for decent work, inspection can do little. Here Germany has this hope. It is not plagued as London and the American cities by emigration of the half-fit and wholly unfit worker. Germany, too, is rapidly increasing her technical and industrial training, so that it seems likely that with such education, together with her legislation, sweating will be reduced to unimportant measure. The laborer, and the public, too, have one lesson to learn. In the world-market some one or even several forms of industry may be passing away before newer and more productive methods. Twelve thousand laborers in and about Chemnitz suffered for years in this transition from one form of weaving to another. They believed themselves sweated by capital, and desperate attempts were made to preserve a form of labor that had had its day. At the present moment in Germany there are two industries that are fighting this same losing battle. The Baden Factory Inspector has just described the desperate condition of certain small mills known as Kundenmühlen, that are less and less able to compete with new and larger mills. There is much talk of *Ausbeutung*, or sweating; but it is only the old story of industrial progress through fitter mechanism. In 1848, when steam was applied to navigation above Cologne on the Rhine, a delegation of laborers waited upon the famous liberal, Robert Blum, who told them they were right in opposing this new tyranny of capital, — they were being sweated, indeed. No politician of the rank of

Blum would to-day dare to take such a position, the conditions of industrial progress are so much better understood. Just now in the Graftschaft Holstein house weaving is being destroyed by better methods, and nothing better marks the progress of industrial knowledge than the attitude of the more instructed socialists. When the cry of "sweating" was raised, the socialistic paper, *Centralblatt*, of Berlin, told them that form of industry had had its day, and must be given up.

It seems at last possible to know what forms of industry are passing away, and therefore to be discouraged. The new statistics and factory inspection will more and more make it practicable to distinguish between the hardship which goes with a decaying industry and sweating proper. It seems, moreover, only to be a question of time when the older workers, who cannot adapt themselves to new conditions and improved methods, will be cared for by some form of insurance. Serious proposals to this effect have been made both in England and Germany. Cases are not infrequent now in which it can be convincingly shown that a small percentage of older workers may be driven to the wall by a new mechanism from which society at large gets a distinct advantage in cheaper products. Some of the most pathetic cases of supposed sweating have been of this description. Even if such cases can be met, the mass of the weak and ignorant will finally remain. As long as they *are* weak, ignorant, and numerous, no hint has yet been given of any remedy save such as tends to educate them into some capacity for an industrial service that society wants. It is the express hope of the new social legislation of Germany, combined with an ever-widening variety of technical and industrial training, that such an end may be reached. Of this ideal it may at least be said that State, commune, and private self-help societies were never trying either so earnestly or so intelligently as at the present moment.

FREIBURG (BADEN), July, 1892.

2. THE "SWEATING SYSTEM" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.—AUGUST, 1892.

BY DAVID F. SCHLOSS, M.A., S.C.L., OF LONDON.

[Read Friday, September 2, 1892.]

In compliance with a request received from the Secretary of the Social Economy Department of the American Social Science Association, I send a statement, based upon inquiries made for the purpose, with respect to the present position of the "sweating system" question in the United Kingdom.

In February, 1888, a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate certain industrial conditions known by the name of the "Sweating System." Evidence was given on 71 occasions by 291 witnesses, the trades covered by the inquiry including tailoring, boot-making, furriery, shirt-making, mantle-making, cabinet-making and upholstery, cutlery and hardware, chain and nail-making, military-accoutrements-making, and dock labor; and in April, 1890, the committee presented its final report.

The committee found itself unable to afford any information as to the precise nature of the industrial phenomenon which it spent so long a period in investigating. Lord Derby, by whom as chairman this report was presented, has explicitly declared, "We endeavored, on a committee in the House of Lords, for some years to ascertain what meaning attached to the word 'sweating'; and we never could find any" (*evidence before Labor Commission*, 18 June, 1891). As to the peculiar system of industry under which "sweating" is practised, the Lords notice the suggestion usually made, that the "sweating system" consists in getting work done by "sub-contractors" or "middlemen," in the following words: "It seems to us that the middleman is the consequence, not the cause, of the evil; the instrument, not the hand which gives motion to the instrument, which does the mischief. Moreover, the middleman is found to be absent in many cases in which the evils complained of abound." It might with truth have been added that, even if the

conception of the "sweating system" as identical with "sub-contract," were consistent with the facts, yet this conception can hardly possess much scientific value, since no one has yet been able to discover the correct definition of "sub-contract."*

In regard to the evils comprised within the designation of "sweating," the committee reported these to be: "(1) a rate of wages inadequate to the necessities of the workers or disproportionate to the work done; (2) excessive hours of labor; (3) the insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on." Their Lordships found the existence of these evils fully proved. They add, however, that, "as a rule, the observations made with respect to sweating apply, in the main, to unskilled or only partially skilled workers, as the thoroughly skilled workers can always obtain adequate wages."

The remedies proposed by the committee for the cure of the evils of "sweating" fall into four main categories: (*a*) "the extension of co-operative societies"; (*b*) "well-considered combination among the workers"; (*c*) legislative interference in respect to the relations between employer and employed; and (*d*) the regulation by the government and by public authorities generally of the conditions under which the contractors engaged upon their work employ labor. To what extent these remedies have been applied, and with what degree of efficacy, will now be stated.

What the Lords meant by "co-operative societies" is not clear. There are a great many joint-stock associations of one kind or another carrying on business in the United Kingdom which claim to be "co-operative." But, if co-operation implies (as all economists agree in thinking) that the co-operative business belongs to and is managed by the persons employed in it, these "self-employed" workers sharing the profits, then there are certainly not more than a score of co-operative societies in the entire country.† The societies calling themselves "co-operative," as a rule, exhibit no trace of co-operative self-employment. These enterprises are not owned by the persons employed in them. These persons — the actual workers — are for the most part excluded from participating in the profits of, and are in many cases not even allowed to hold shares in, these undertakings. Some few of these un-co-operative

* The question, "Is there a Sweating System?" is discussed in detail in "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," by the writer of this paper. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Williams & Norgate, London, 1892.

† See the facts set forth in detail in "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," referred to in the preceding note.

"co-operative" associations have done something to improve the position of the operatives affected by the "sweating system." Supplying cheap clothes, boots, furniture, etc., to the working classes, and having formerly been accustomed to purchase these articles from wholesale manufacturers, who in many instances got them made up under the "sweating system," the associations now referred to have recently commenced to manufacture these articles in workshops of their own,— workshops in which the conditions of labor are generally excellent. The total quantity of articles manufactured by these societies is, however, quite insignificant when compared with the great mass of goods still made up under the "sweating system." Several attempts to put down the "sweating system" by so-called co-operation have been initiated by philanthropists who have undertaken the business of the "sub-contractor," promising to make the workers a present of the profits. Many of these concerns fail altogether; a few struggle on with the help of charity custom; some claim to pay rather more than the current rate of wages, but none of them earn any profits. Several of the philanthropists by whom these "co-operative" businesses have been carried on have declared, as the result of their experience, that the service rendered by the "sweater" as organizer are worth all that this "middleman," hard pressed as he usually is by competition, ever succeeds in earning. While the attempt to abolish the "sweating system" by charitable co-operation has met with scanty success, not more encouraging have been the results attained in those cases in which persons accustomed to work under the "sweating system" have, often with considerable guidance, mostly of a futile character, on the part of philanthropists, tried to put down the "sweating system" by co-operative production of a type more or less nearly conforming to the conception of co-operation entertained by the economists. The attempt to carry on co-operative production avoids failure seldom enough when made by workers high in the scale of skill and discipline. When this experiment has been made by the relatively low-grade operatives accustomed to work under the "sweating system," co-operation has only in very rare instances attained even the smallest measure of success.

The next on the list of remedies proposed by the Lords' Committee — trade-union combination — has been adopted by some of the workers whose case was brought before that body, notably by the dock laborers of London. Since their great strike in August,

1889,— a strike the success of which was due to the large pecuniary support received by the strikers from the public of all classes, both in the United Kingdom and in Australia,— the London dockers receive a rate of pay higher, as a rule, by about twenty per cent. than the rate formerly prevailing, and the irregularity of their employment has been not inconsiderably diminished. It is, however, proper to remark that the class of men now engaged in dock labor is superior to that which obtained employment in the anti-strike days. These men get more than the old dockers got; but, then, they also give more in exchange for their pay. As to the "casuals," so many of whom found precarious employment in the docks under the old conditions, this type of labor is rapidly being altogether eliminated, a very large proportion of the dockers now employed being engaged as more or less permanent workmen. It must be added that the various methods of employment which are called in relation to dock labor by the name of "the sweating system," although for a time abolished by the strike, have now in a great measure been revived, but are deprived of many of their most evil characteristics by the influence, still very powerful, of the Dockers' Union. Another instance of the success of trade-union combination is the victory gained by the men in the wholesale boot trade, who have succeeded, in London by a strike, in Leicester by negotiations, in compelling the manufacturers to have the greater part of their work done, no longer in outdoor workshops or in the homes of the workmen, but upon their own premises. By this vigorous action on the part of the English trade-unions the foreigners who formerly worked in London under "the sweating system" have thus been, for the most part, removed from the "sweating dens" into factories, where they receive better pay and work much shorter hours than formerly. But much labor-saving machinery is being introduced; the imports of cheap boots from the Continent have increased, while our exports of boots have fallen off; and there is great dearth of employment and much misery among the boot-makers formerly employed under "the sweating system." The tailors of foreign birth or extraction who work under "the sweating system" have come out on strike in both London and Manchester, but the concessions which they secured were retained only for a very brief period indeed. Their trade-union organization is absolutely ineffective; and their position to-day is, on the whole, in no material respect better than it was when their case was brought before the Select Committee. In the

chain and nail trades there have been several strikes, the revolt of the workers in the nail-making industry being aided by generous assistance contributed chiefly by workingmen in other trades; and the position of the workers exhibits a certain degree of improvement, but the industrial conditions complained of under the name of "the sweating system" are still widely prevalent. In the Sheffield hardware trades an improvement, due to more effective trade-union organization, has taken place in the position of the file-cutters; but the workers in the various branches of the cutlery trade brought to the notice of the Lords' Committee appear to be no better off now than formerly. With respect to the other classes of persons working under "the sweating system" whose position was investigated by the committee, such as the trousers-makers, shirt-makers, furriers, cabinet-makers, etc., it may be said generally that these people have taken no steps, or no effective steps, to combine against oppression.

With regard to the remedy of the evils incidental to "the sweating system" by legislative interference in respect to the relations between employers and employed, very little has been attempted. The principal modifications in the law effected since the Lords presented their report are those contained in the Factory and Workshop Act, 1891, and the Public Health (London) Act, 1891. By these statutes the duty of enforcing the maintenance of cleanliness, the provision of proper sanitary accommodation, and the avoidance of overcrowding in workshops (*i.e.*, places in which no motive power is used) as distinguished from factories (*i.e.*, places in which steam or other power is used, and certain large works, such as foundries, glass-works, etc.) (which was formerly cast upon the local sanitary authorities concurrently with the factory inspectors, and was usually performed by neither),* is imposed primarily upon the local authorities. It is too soon to judge whether these authorities intend properly to fulfil this obligation. In East London, at any rate, little has as yet been done by the local authorities; and the overcrowding of the workers, in particular, is still a widely prevalent characteristic of the "sweating dens" which abound in that region. Although the factory inspectors have no longer joint control with the local authorities in these sanitary questions, they are to give notice to these authori-

*In some few instances, notably in regard to the Bradley Heath chain-makers, a considerable improvement in the sanitary condition of the workshops has taken place since the Lords' Committee sat.

ties of all sanitary defects observed by them in workshops, and also of the opening of every new workshop; and, if the Home Secretary has reason to believe that the local authorities are not duly supervising the sanitation of workshops, he has power to direct the factory inspectors to take action. In London the County Council has power to act, if any local authority fail properly to carry out this supervision. Neither of these powers has as yet been exercised. So far as regards the regulation of the hours of labor, the factory inspectors retain full responsibility. In London the medical officer of each district is to give notice to the factory inspectors respecting every child, young person, or woman whom he finds to be employed in a workshop. If the sanitary inspectors working under these medical officers were to make an efficient visitation of the districts in which "the sweating system" is prevalent, and if the factory inspectors were to receive full particulars of the persons found employed in the workshops of the "sweating masters," as this law provides, then the work of these officers would be made easier. Whether this will happen remains to be seen. Another provision tending to facilitate the detection of overwork in the haunts of the "sweaters" is that which gives the Home Secretary power to compel every employer, whether "manufacturer" or "sub-contractor," to keep and submit to inspection, either by a factory inspector or a sanitary inspector, a list of all persons employed by him outside his factory or workshop, and of the places in which such persons work. This power has, by an Order coming into force on Aug. 15, 1892, been exercised in relation to the manufacture of articles of wearing apparel. But little, however, can be hoped from the action of the factory inspectors at present assigned to the districts in which the "sweating dens" abound; for their number is quite inadequate to carry out an efficient inspection of these innumerably scattered rooms, garrets, and cellars. The Lords' Committee recommended that women and girls should be prohibited by law from using a particular description of heavy sledge-hammer used in nail-making and from making chains above a certain size. But the legislature has confined itself to empowering the Factory Department in cases in which the Home Secretary is of opinion that physical danger or injury exists to make special rules dealing with the matter. So far as the nail and chain makers are concerned, the women and girls are, up to the date of writing, using the same heavy hammers and making the same thick chains as at the time

when the committee made its report; nor, it is believed, has the power last referred to yet been exercised in any instance.

The recommendation of the Select Committee, that public authorities should compel contractors doing work for them to get this work done under proper conditions, has been widely adopted. Already, before the committee's report was presented, the goverment had taken steps to insure that its clothing contractors should get the garments supplied for the army made up in factories belonging to themselves, no work being sent outdoors to be done, and had fixed a scale of wages to be paid by their harness, saddlery, and accoutrement contractors for certain classes of work previously very ill-paid, at the same time preventing these contractors from getting any work made up under "sub-contractors," unless expressly allowed to do this.

In February, 1891, the House of Commons passed a resolution recognizing "the duty of the government in all government contracts to make provision against the evils recently disclosed before the Sweating Committee, to insert such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from subletting, and to make every effort to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen." This resolution has been, on the whole, well carried out by the government, which in some cases altogether forbids "sub-contract," in others forbids "sub-contract" except where customary in the trade, and in the remainder forbids "sub-contract" except with the express consent of the department concerned, and in all cases insists that all persons employed shall receive current rates of wages. Many public bodies (including some of our most important municipalities) now require their contractors to pay full current wages (the rates recognized by the trade-unions being generally accepted as the standard), and forbid "sub-contract" except in cases in which it can be shown that "sub-contracting" is proper and will not lead to the oppression of the employees. That by means of the restrictions imposed upon contractors by the State and other public authorities the earnings of a considerable number of workers, including some of those accustomed to work under the "sweating system," have been improved, is certain. It would, however, be incorrect to allege that these restrictions have effected any very marked or wide-spread improvement in respect to the evil industrial conditions investigated by the Lords' Committee.

To sum up. The position of the work people employed under

"the sweating system" is, save in a comparatively small number of instances, no better to-day than it was, when, more than two years ago, the Select Committee upon "the Sweating System" made its final report.

NOTE.

In my paper for American Social Science Association I mentioned that the chain and nail makers had slightly improved their position. Last week the chain-makers, after an unsuccessful strike, were forced to submit to a reduction in wages.

DAVID F. SCHLOSS,
1 Knaresborough Place, Cromwell Road,
London, S.W.

AUG. 23, 1892.

3. CONDITIONS OF THE LABOR OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

OBSERVED BY A DISPENSARY PHYSICIAN OF NEW YORK, IN 1892.

BY ANNA S. DANIEL, M.D., OUTDOOR PHYSICIAN TO THE NEW YORK INFIRMARY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

[Read Friday, Sept. 2, 1892.]

Permit me to call your attention to a class of tenement-house workers who are never visited by the factory inspector; whose hours are limited only by their physical strength and the amount of work they can obtain; who pay for the rent, light, and heating of their work-shop; who eat, sleep, are sick, and die in the same rooms in which they manufacture goods in whole or in part,—these to be sold in Broadway shops, as well as other shops in and out of New York City. Here child labor includes all the children in the family from three (3) years to fourteen (14) years of age,—their hours of labor, like their mothers', limited only by the amount of work on hand and their physical strength; children who stop their work only for a drink of black coffee and to eat a piece of bread, or to quiet a crying baby, or to carry the heavy bundles of work to and from the shop; children who have no childhood, whom the law makes no effort to protect, who live only to work, along with women whose only object in life is to earn money enough to pay the rent, and keep themselves and children from starving.

Where do these people live? On the great East Side, in buildings containing from sixteen to twenty-four families, four families on a floor. In the older tenements the apartments in front and rear communicate by a door. The walls are thin, permitting very ordinary conversation to be heard by the next-door neighbor.

The front room, with two windows or one large one, opens into the dirty, noisy street or into the still dirtier yard; the bed-room large enough to contain a bed and to permit of passing between the bed and the wall, and a small window opening into the hall. The cooking, washing, ironing, all the domestic processes are carried on in the front room, which is also used as a sitting, dining, and work room all day long and far into the night. When sickness

comes,— of whatever nature,— the patient is moved into this one room to get well or die. There is a common hall for all; dirty, usually dark, and containing the sink for the four families. Into this sink all manner of refuse is thrown. A dirty yard contains the closets, flushed once in twenty-four hours.

Built in a court-yard between the front house and the house in the opposite street, are found the rear houses,— to enter which you pass through the hall of the front house or a narrow alley between two houses. These houses contain usually only two families on each floor, and resemble closely the front houses. The newer tenement houses are built upon one of two plans,— either with a spiral staircase or with the stairs in the centre of the building. These tenements are built in the flimsiest manner, with a gaudy exterior, and accommodate either two (2) or four (4) families on each floor, the front and back apartments not connecting. An air-shaft is built upon both sides of the house, when intended for four families on a floor. In the halls are two closets, one for every two families. The apartment usually consists of three rooms, all small. The front room is used for the living-room, and is also the workshop, or it may be "let out" to help pay the rent. Usually, this room contains two windows, opening either to the street or the yard. The second room, the kitchen, contains stationary tubs; and the window opens into the air-shaft, in common with all the other tenants' kitchen windows. The bedroom, always small, contains a window opening into the common air-shaft, which extends either from the cellar or first floor to the roof. These air-shafts, into which all the odors from all the families pour, are not infrequently dangerous receivers of contagious disease. I have seen a woman take the clothes from a child desquamating from scarlet fever and shake them into the air-shaft. The basements are used as apartments.

From Dec. 1, 1891, to Aug. 1, 1892, as Outdoor visiting physician for the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, I have been called to one hundred and fifty-three families in each of which a woman earns the whole or a part of the family income, in rooms which are also occupied as family living-rooms. These families include only those women who work continually during the season, not occasional workers. I shall include in this list a class of home workers whose unhappy condition has been little studied. Their sufferings were forced upon my attention during the very hot weather of last July. Their occupation is quite as

much a menace to the public health as are the families who manufacture goods at home. I mean the women who do laundry work in their apartments. I found seventy-seven (77) women, representing five hundred and nine persons (509), manufacturing some article in whole or in part, and not for their own use,— the women at work in their living rooms; seventy-six (76) women, laundresses, representing three hundred and seventy-seven persons, their laundry work also being done in their living-rooms. I have included no women in my list except those who applied at the dispensary for medical attendance at home for some member of their family.

Among the seventy-seven (77) women manufacturing, in not one instance was the work interrupted because of the illness in the family. Seventeen (17) deaths suspended the work temporarily; but in one case the pantaloon finishers were not delayed one moment, from the time the little one fell into the tub of hot water, until three days later the little body was carried to Calvary Cemetery.

The seventy-seven women were engaged in finishing trousers, coats, and vests; were seamstresses,— including all women sewing on "white goods," women making hair wigs, wire bonnet frames, neckties, artificial flowers, covering moulds with silk for dress trimmings; tobacco stripping and cigar-making.

Of the social condition of the women, seventeen (17) are widows, three (3) deserted by their husbands, one (1) is a single woman, fifty-six (56) are married women. Among the married women, nine (9) support the entire family, including their husbands. Of these nine husbands, four are habitual drunkards, one is ill, unable to work, four are simply lazy and will not work.

Ten women assist grown children in supporting the family. Fourteen women work at the same trade with their husbands or grown children. Of these fourteen women, twelve are tailoresses and two tobacco workers.

Of the husbands of thirty-three (33) who do not work at home, but one is a skilled workman, and he a painter. Two are Hebrew teachers, their school-rooms and their wives' work-rooms the same. The remainder are laborers, pedlers, bootblacks, and other poorly paid labor.

Thirty-eight women are engaged in tailoring, usually as "finishers." The maximum amount of wages earned per week is $10. Four women only are able to earn this amount. The average weekly wages of the finishers is $4.53.

The second largest number of women are engaged as seamstresses. Of these, we have twenty-nine (29). They include shirt makers and finishers, those making boys' shirt-waists (entire). Undergarments for men and women, and babies' white muslin dresses. The maximum weekly wage is earned by one woman, and is $10. The average weekly wage is $3.75. One woman cuts button-holes, made by machines, in boys' "knee-pants," and receives two cents per hundred buttonholes. She adds fifty cents to the family income daily. Another cuts embroidery at the rate of twenty-five cents per hundred yards. Another woman makes hair wigs, and earns $8 per week. Her husband, a pedler, has been known to earn $3 per week. A woman with two little children to support, and deserted by her husband, makes men's neckties at forty-five cents per dozen, furnishing her own thread,— this for a Broadway shop. The largest amount that she ever earned in one week was $5. She sends her children to a day nursery, and works incessantly.

Two women (not together) make artificial flowers, and average $4 per week. A woman, who has heart disease, and her two daughters, make wire bonnet-frames, and together earn $10 per week; while another woman, whose husband has consumption, covers wooden moulds with silk for dress trimmings at four cents per gross. She is assisted by her three children, eleven (11), seven (7), and three (3) years old. The family earn an average of $6 per week, the mother estimating that the three children earn two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the family income; and this she tells with much pride, and assures me that the baby of three years works the whole afternoon without being tired.

Of the tobacco workers, one "strips" for her son, and cannot estimate the amount of wages she earns. The other woman, who makes cigars, earns a maximum amount of $7 per week.

The maximum total income from all sources of the families of the seventy-seven women is $746 per week, and this to support five hundred and nine people.

The total amount of rent paid is $736.25 per month. This is paid by seventy-six women. (One woman is housekeeper for the tenement house in which she lives, and for her services receives her rent free.) The largest amount of rent paid by one family is $18 for six rooms. The smallest amount is $3.50. The average rent is $9.68.

The sanitary conditions under which these people live — the

tenement house and the individual apartment — I have classed as good, moderately good, and bad. A good tenement house is one that is clean, well lighted and ventilated, halls light, the plumbing in good order, sinks and closets free from odors, the house in good repair; moderately good, in which the plumbing is more or less out of order, neither good ventilation nor light, but the house otherwise in good repair and clean. The conditions are bad when the house is out of repair, ventilation not good, halls dark, too closely crowded against neighboring houses; house dirty; that is, the halls, stairs, and yards. Of the first good class we found one solitary example. This, a corner house, very nearly approached a model tenement. Of the second class we found twenty-eight; of the third class, forty-eight.

The sanitary condition of the tenement house is directly due to the owner, under the supervision of the Board of Health. Hence, instead of finding one family living in a tenement house in good sanitary condition, we should have found seventy-seven.

The same classification can be made of the sanitary condition of the individual apartments. Good apartments consist of rooms well lighted and ventilated, with no odor from sinks, clean, not overcrowded. Moderately good are where the plumbing and ventilation are good, the rooms clean, but overcrowded, and not well lighted. Bad are overcrowded, dirty, dark rooms, with plumbing out of order, ventilation and light bad.

The dirt and overcrowding of the apartments are directly traceable to the tenants; the plumbing, lighting, and ventilation, to the landlord and Health Board. In justice to these people whom we are discussing, it must be remembered that our observations were all made during the illness of one or more members of the family; and the cleanliness of the apartments might have been different, had there been no sickness present. This fact, however, does not affect the condition of the plumbing, lighting, or ventilation of the apartments. The overcrowding is partly the fault of the owner and partly of the Health Board.

One family was found living in good sanitary apartments. Twenty-seven families live in moderately good apartments, forty-nine families in bad apartments. Fifty-eight families live in front houses, nineteen in rear houses. The total number of rooms occupied by the seventy-seven families is two hundred and twelve; the total number of light rooms, one hundred and sixty-eight; total number of persons, five hundred and nine. The number of

rooms comprising an apartment and occupied by one family is as follows: four families each live in one room; thirty-two, each in two rooms; twenty-four, each in three rooms; fourteen, each in four rooms; two, each in five rooms; one, in six rooms.

A well-known custom among the tenement-house people is the habit of taking boarders or lodgers. The average price paid by the latter is $1.50 per month, the boarders paying from $3 to $12 per month,—the latter an unusual price. No discrimination is made in regard to sex,—a woman taking as many persons as will come to her. At the time of our visits, thirty-seven families accommodated a total number of ninety strangers. The largest number found in one family at one time was fifteen,—the family proper numbering seven. This total number of people, twenty-two, live in three rooms, one of which is light. The apartment contains one double and one single bed. Each person pays $1.50 per month. There is one married couple: the others are single young men and women. Fifteen families have each one boarder; five, each three boarders; nine, each two boarders; one has five boarders; one, four boarders; two, each nine boarders; one, fifteen boarders. Except among the Italians and three Jewish families, the boarders or lodgers go out of the house to work.

The most important question in the study of tenement-house labor is the part the children under fourteen years of age take in the manufacturing. For obvious reasons, the exact number of children working, and the amount of work they accomplish will never be positively known. Whenever children are members of families manufacturing, they invariably assist either directly or indirectly. Indirectly, they do the housework, take almost the entire care of the younger children, or carry the heavy bundles of clothing to and from the factories. Thus a child of nine years does all the housework for a family of five persons, including the washing and ironing, that the mother may devote her entire time to her sewing. Another girl of six years carries three or four dozen vests at one time up five flights of stairs, and the mother cannot understand why the child is not well.

We found, among our seventy-seven families, four children between fourteen and sixteen years of age assisting their mothers at home; between ten and fourteen years of age, thirty-one children; between three and ten years of age, twenty-three children. One only was three years of age. Twenty-four between fourteen and eighteen years of age work in factories during the day; and

we know that a large number of these people assist in the manufacturing in the family, in the evening, after their day's work.

These twenty-four persons earn a total maximum per week of $80.50, distributed as follows: eight earn one-half the income of the family; six, one-third; one, two-thirds; nine, one-fourth.

The precise amount of money the children at home earn is almost impossible to estimate. The mothers are all very positive that the assistance of the little ones is a decided financial help. Ten children, the mothers knew, added $19.50 to the family fund. Three of this number are between ten and fourteen years of age; seven, between three and ten years of age. Of these ten children, one child earns one-sixth of the income; two children earn two-thirds; three children in one family earn two-thirds; one child earns one-half the income; three children earn one-fourth. The difficulty of estimating this point is illustrated in the case of a widow with three children, aged six, eight, and twelve years. The mother manufactures babies' lawn dresses complete. The mother makes the buttonholes and does the fine work. The girl of twelve runs the sewing-machine, stitching the seams and tucking. The girl of eight years cuts the embroidery, does some basting, and sews the buttons. The mother estimates that the two girls earn one-half the total income. I have known the family several years, and I think that her estimate is correct. The girl of twelve years has been working with her mother six years; the child of eight, four years. I asked the mother what the child of six years did,— at the time he was ill with the measles. "Oh, you know he's a half idiot, and can do nothing." Evidently, the fact that he was too young to work never occurred to her. The children between four and ten years of age usually sew the buttons on, fell long seams, and do the coarse sewing; and this they did without a murmur, sitting most of the day and into the night. At last, when nature will bear no more, the child is brought to the dispensary for medicine, and the mothers are amazed to learn that the children only need more fresh air, less work, less tea and coffee, and more sleep. And they actually tell us that they cannot spare the child's labor, and must have medicine.

The nationality of the seventy-seven women is divided among twenty-five Germans, ten Irish, ten Italians, twenty-four Russian Poles, one Cuban, one Roumanian, one English woman, five born in the United States.

Among these people medical attendance was called for twenty

women, twenty-three children between five and fifteen years, twenty-seven children between one and five years, and seven children under one year. All children under five years of age are brought to the dispensary, if not too ill.

The contagious diseases attended were: measles, twenty children; scarlet fever, seven children; typhoid fever, three children; spotted fever, one child; erysipelas, two women; consumption, four women.

These patients were not at all isolated. The clothing manufactured was laid upon the lounge or bed with the patients: none of it was fumigated. We have repeatedly tried to trace clothing manufactured, to ascertain, if possible, whether any person contracted the disease from clothing manufactured in these rooms, but have no absolutely proven instance. Most of these people manufacture for middle-men, these men have only a small shop, the goods being sent at once to the owner. The people are densely ignorant, often not knowing for whom they work. "John" or "Caroline," in Orchard or some other street, gives them the work. The children go after the work, and return it when completed. The little blank books furnished by the employer usually contain no address,— just why I have never been able to find out. However, we sometimes find fashionable clothing-stores having their work done in tenement houses. The work is rarely custom work.

Our seventy-seven families all received free medical attendance. Twenty-four families are known to receive constant outside charity.

I wish briefly to call your attention to the laundresses. I add them, as their occupation is a constant menace to the public health. Soiled linen is carried through the streets, in the horse-cars, in baskets and bundles. I have been able to trace contagious disease from families in which children are ill to the children of the laundresses, through the soiled linen. A recent illustration, within the past year: A laundress washed the clothes for a child sick with scarlet fever. Her two children contracted the disease, one of whom nearly lost her life. The children in three other families in the house contracted the disease from the laundress's children. Although the woman continued at her work, so far as I could ascertain, she did not carry the disease to any of her customers. Clothing, after being washed and before it is ironed, is laid on the bed or lounge with the child sick with a contagious disease; or a towel belonging to some other family is handed to

the physician to use as a chest cloth, thus becoming a vehicle for contagion.

Laundry work in a tenement house means a constant fire, making the rooms unbearably hot in summer. In the winter, the constant opening of the window during the time the clothes are being hung on the line, creates constant draughts of cold air in the room. The steam fills the little rooms; the tubs occupy a large part of the room; often the water must be pumped the night before or very early in the morning; often the clothes are hung on the roof, and must be carried up one or more flights of stairs. Their hours are limited only by the amount of work they can obtain; their wages are from thirty cents to one dollar per dozen pieces.

My seventy-six laundresses represent three hundred and seventy-seven persons. Twenty-five women support the family, twenty-two women assist husbands and children, twenty-five women assist children only, four women assist mothers or sisters. The necessity for supporting the entire family by the married women is, in one case, because the husband is old and sick; eight cases, the husband is sick and cannot work; three cases, the husband is on strike. As I have never known these three men to work, striking seems to be a chronic disability. Thirteen men are unable to find a "job": my belief is that they never will. Among these twenty-five husbands there is not one skilled workman. There are thirty-seven married women, twenty-one widows, two single women, and sixteen deserted women.

The total amount of the family income is six hundred and two dollars and fifty cents ($602.50). The maximum total income for one family is twenty dollars ($20); the minimum, two dollars and fifty cents ($2.50). The total amount of rent paid by the laundresses is five hundred and fifty-eight dollars and seventy-five cents ($558.75) per month. This is paid by seventy-four women. Two women, in return for their care of the tenements in which they live, receive their rent free. The average amount of rent paid is $7.55.

The same classification of the sanitary condition of the tenements and apartments occupied by the laundresses was made as in those of the manufacturers. We found two families in good tenements, thirty-three in moderately good, forty-one in bad tenements. Of the sanitary condition of the individual apartments, six were found good, twenty-nine moderately good, forty-one bad. We found forty-five families in front houses, twenty-five in rear houses, and

six in basements. The seventy-six laundresses occupy a total number of ninety-nine (99) light rooms, distributed as follows: sixty-two families each have one light room; twelve, two light rooms; four, three light rooms. One family has four light rooms.

One would hardly suppose that any person obliged to lodge or board in a family would select apartments occupied by laundresses. We found, however, twenty-seven (27) families who take either lodgers or boarders. Sixteen families have each one boarder; five, two boarders; six, three boarders; a total number of forty-four (44) strangers.

The nations represented by these women are: Germany, thirty-nine; Ireland, twenty-seven; Poland, one; Hungary, two; Russia, two; England, one; United States, four.

Among the seventy-six families there is a total number of twenty-eight persons known to me to be drunkards. Of this number, both man and wife, six families; man only, twenty-one families; woman, one family. Thirty families receive constant aid other than medical relief. That children of the laundress are more valuable bread-winners, out of the family workshop than in it, is shown by the fact that only four (4) children are constantly engaged in assisting their mothers at the tubs. These children rinse the clothes and hang them out, iron the coarser pieces, and assist in carrying the work home.

The children in the families are not idle. Twenty-seven (27) between ten and fourteen years old are at work either in shops or factories; and fifty between fourteen and eighteen years work in factories.

The total amount of money earned by the children between ten and fourteen years in shops or factories is $54 per week. Four children earn one-half the family income; fourteen, one-third; six, one-fourth; three, one-sixth. The youngest of these twenty-seven children is ten years, the oldest thirteen years. Ten are engaged as cash children, seventeen in factories.

These children are directly violating the State factory law, which prohibits children under fourteen years of age from working in any factory in the State. The responsibility for this violation of the law is entirely due to the carelessness or deliberate fault of the chief factory inspector and his deputies. The factory law calls the employment of children under fourteen years of age a misdemeanor, and provides certain punishment when the law is disobeyed. A deputy factory inspector stated to me that, when

children under fourteen years were found working in factories, she investigated the circumstances; and if, in her opinion, the child's wages were needed at home, she allowed the child to continue at work in the factory. The chief factory inspector at Albany, last winter, said exactly the same thing. The factory law gives neither chief nor deputy discretionary power as to the age at which children are allowed to work in factories. We in New York State do not need new factory laws, but new factory inspectors.

The total amount of wages contributed to the family fund by the young persons between fourteen and eighteen years of age is $186 per week. The total income of the families from all sources is $602.50 per week. Of this amount $230 is earned by persons between ten and eighteen years of age.

Among the seventy-six families we attended twenty-four cases of measles, nine of scarlet fever, three of erysipelas, two of consumption,—with a mortality of eight. That every precaution should be taken to prevent the spread of contagious disease is emphasized by the fact that in the year 1891 there died in New York twelve hundred and twenty persons of scarlet fever, and sixteen hundred and sixty-three from measles. There is obviously much more danger to the community where goods are manufactured or clothing laundered in rooms containing patients ill with a contagious disease. The Board of Health has power to prohibit work of all kinds during the presence of an infectious disease. The physician attending a person ill with a contagious disease is bound by the law to report it to the Health Board within twenty four hours of the first visit. Yet in no instance among the cases cited in this paper was work suspended by the health officer. A recent protest circulated by the Reform Club proves that the Board of Health of New York is simply a political machine.

There is at present no law which either regulates or prohibits the seventy-six women, whom I have reported to you, from continuing their manufacturing, and employing their children to assist them. The amended (1892) factory law gives permission to the immediate members of the family to work in their tenement rooms.

The Listman Bill gives the same permission to the immediate members of the family, and further defines a family. "The term 'family,' as in this act provided, shall be construed to mean a husband and wife and their children." The provision that a tag shall be placed on each garment is of little protection. It simply

provides that the name of the State and city shall be printed and attached to the article. The only method that can be employed by which we shall be certain that no article is manufactured in tenement-house living-rooms, and that no little children are employed in the manufacture of any goods, is the passage of a law prohibiting such manufacturing in tenement-house apartments which are used for living and sleeping purposes, and to see that the proper officers enforce the law. Undoubtedly, under such a law a few would suffer. The people who would suffer would probably be only a few women who, from old age or chronic illness, are unable to go to the shops to work. The widows would be forced to find work in the factories, and the orphans sent to school, — kindergarten or nursery. If there is a dearth of these, public and private philanthropy would make good the deficiency. The result would be that women would work in better sanitary surroundings, that no child under fourteen years would be employed in manufacturing goods; the sick would receive proper care, if not at home, then transferred to a hospital, there to get well or die, out of sight of the everlasting work.

I have been asked by your Secretary, Mr. Lee, to answer the following questions: First, How far tenement-house work (as distinguished from tenement home life) as now carried on is deteriorating the race of people engaged in it?

In regard to this question, my facts are worthless. I have one hundred and fifty-three persons, nine of whom were born in this country. From isolated cases which I have known, I should say that the life in tenement houses, plus manufacturing in tenement rooms, if continued, will eventually bring forth ignorant, brutal, unhealthy men and women: this *must* be when a woman, in addition to the duties of wife and mother, is forced to join with her husband as bread-winner.

The children, beginning as young as three years, either assist directly in manufacturing, or have the care of the household during a period when they should be in school or at exercise in the open air, so necessary to the proper development of mind and body.

Second. Are the children becoming stunted, thus showing the effects of overwork of the parents?

Under three years of age, the children present marked symptoms of the disease called "rachitis," due to mal-nutrition, from underfeeding and bad sanitary surroundings. From three to fourteen or sixteen years, the children are bright, and, as you have seen, capa-

ble of competing with their elders as bread-winners. From sixteen years and over, their occupations are those of unskilled labor, and their capacity for earning money remains about what it was at sixteen to eighteen years. (I speak only of the same class of people as our one hundred and fifty-three.)

Third. During the presence of contagious diseases in rooms where goods are being manufactured, was there danger of infection? If possible, give an instance of such infection. Most assuredly there was danger of infection in every case. I have no recent example. An instance, however, I recall, which occurred a few years ago. In a "sweater's" family to whom I was called occurred three cases of scarlet fever. Two women employed by him in the shop, and who also carried work to their homes to finish, asked me to attend their children, also ill with scarlet fever a few days after its appearance in the sweater's family. It is almost impossible to trace the clothing after it leaves the tenement houses. I am constantly studying this question; but, when the women do not know for whom they work, and often not even the street or number, it seems nearly impossible.

Fourth, and lastly. How much grievance is there, and what is it?

The people working in tenement rooms have a decided grievance against the city of New York, in that its sanitary and health laws are not enforced; and against the greed of employers, who give the work to the tenement-house people simply because it is cheaper.

The grievance of the children is, first, against their parents, who compel them to work as soon as they are old enough to speak, and deny them their right to an education; second, against the people of the State, who make good factory laws and place the enforcement of their laws in the hands of incompetent politicians.

4. THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY HORACE G. WADLIN, CHIEF MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR.

[Read Friday, September 2.]

The industrial evils which have been classed under the somewhat vague title of the "sweating system" have recently been the subject of official investigation in Massachusetts.

In that Commonwealth, for reasons which are perfectly obvious when the conditions surrounding the industry are understood, these evils have been principally confined to the manufacture of clothing, and to the city of Boston, where, as in most of our large cities, an influx of unskilled foreign labor has in recent years been congregated in the tenement-house districts.

Boston is the seat of the clothing industry in the Commonwealth, the aggregate output of that industry in the city approximating $25,000,000 annually; and of this at least 90 per cent. is produced, either wholly or in part, under the contract system, which, under certain conditions, affords a basis for "the sweating system," so called. In general, the cutting and trimming are done directly by the manufacturers, only the "finishing," as it is called, being done under contract. Out of the total product affected by contract work, about 48 per cent., nearly one-half, is made by contract in the city of Boston; 16.72 per cent., or about one-sixth, in the city of New York; 26.94 per cent., slightly more than one-fourth, in the State of Maine; 4.96 per cent. in New Hampshire; 3.49 per cent. in the State of Massachusetts outside of Boston; and a small amount in the State of New Jersey.

Not all the work done under contract is done in tenement houses. The part done in tenements in Boston is principally confined to the finishing process, so far as relates to men's clothing. Some low-grade work, also some children's clothing, is entirely made up in families. In New York, however, the practice prevails of making the entire garment in family apartments. For this reason it is alleged that a considerable portion of the work done in that city for the Boston market is the product of tenement-house

labor. The amount of work sent to New York appears to be increasing; while much of that now sent there would, under conditions formerly prevailing, have been done in Boston. That is, the work sent to New York in recent years has been almost entirely withdrawn from Boston contractors; that sent to Maine and New Hampshire being principally of a different class, and not particularly affected by the New York competition.

Official returns have been secured from 33 Boston contractors, who were of the following nationalities: Hebrew, 26; American, 3; German and Irish, 1 each; not stated, 2. The following table shows the number of employees furnished with work by these contractors, by nationalities: —

Nationalities of Employees.	Persons employed by —				Total Number of Employees.
	Hebrew Contractors.	American Contractors.	Irish Contractors.	German Contractors.	
American, . . .	193	27	22	7	249
German, ...	1	3	. .	2	6
Hebrew, ...	427	17	. .	4	448
Irish, ...	117	24	26	9	176
Italian, ...	187	23	2	3	215
Portuguese, . . .	6	7	. .	. .	13
Totals, . .	931	101	50	25	1,107

From the foregoing table, which represents 1,107 employees, it appears that 931 were employed by Hebrew contractors; and of these 427 were Hebrew, 193 American, 187 Italian, 117 Irish, 6 Portuguese, and 1 German. 101 employees in the employ of American contractors included 27 Americans, 24 Irish, 23 Italians, 17 Hebrews, 7 Portuguese, and 3 Germans. 50 employees working for Irish contractors comprised 26 Irish, 22 Americans, and 2 Italians. 25 employees working for German contractors comprised 9 Irish, 7 Americans, 4 Hebrews, 3 Italians, and 2 Germans. Out of the total number of employees, therefore, it appears that 448 were Hebrews, 249 Americans, 215 Italians, 176 Irish, 13 Portuguese, and 6 Germans. While these figures do not represent the total number of employees engaged on contract work in the city, they may be considered as representing the relative preponderance of the different nationalities employed. In the following table these employees are classified by sex, according to nationality: —

Nationalities of Employees.	Males.	Females.	Both Sexes.
American,	34	215	249
German,	5	1	6
Hebrew,	223	225	448
Irish,	32	144	176
Italian,	92	123	215
Portuguese,	5	8	13
Totals,	391	716	1,107

Respecting the capital required to carry on this work, one contractor reported the amount necessary to be $20,000; another, $10,000; one, $6,000; two, $5,000; two, $2,000; two, $1,500; one, $1,200; six, $1,000. The rest reported amounts less than $1,000, from which it would appear that the financial burden of the contractor's business is largely sustained by the manufacturers furnishing him with work.

The hours of labor generally observed by the contractors, according to their returns, are ten per day; but this applies entirely to shop-work. One only reported more than ten; and it was generally stated that most of the help are on piece work and take their own time, by which it is meant that strict and regular hours of labor are not always observed. Five contractors reported a shorter working day on Saturdays. One hour is generally allowed for dinner when the work is done in shops.

The work performed by the contractors covered all grades of men and boys' clothing.

The contract system was in vogue in Boston as early as 1863; and while at that time nearly all the wholesale houses had their own workshops, yet many of them were in the habit of contracting a portion of their work. Since the date mentioned, work under this system has slowly increased, expanding materially after the Boston fire of 1872, which, depriving many wholesalers of their own establishments, gave to the contractors an opportunity which they at once improved.

The system, as conducted at the present time, affecting as it does the wholesaler, retailer, contractor, and employee, is somewhat intricate. In general, the wholesalers furnish the material, which is cut and trimmed in their own workshops; this part of the work being done by persons directly in their own employ, and under proper sanitary conditions, as required by the provisions of

the Factory Inspection Act. The goods are then sent out to contractors to be made up. Certain classes of garments, for instance, coats, may be given to New York or Boston contractors; others, for instance, pantaloons, to Boston or Maine contractors. For the manner in which the contractor conducts his business, as to the conditions under which his work is performed, or respecting the prices he pays to his employees, the wholesaler disclaims responsibility and knowledge.

So far as the contract work performed in shops in the city of Boston is concerned, it is, of course, like other factory work, subject to the provisions of the Factory Inspection Act; and generally, whether in Boston or elsewhere, the character of the work done in shops is not particularly criticised.

The contract work sent to Maine is either entirely executed in shops, or, as is frequently the case, partly in shops and afterwards finished at farm-houses, the women of the family thus adding to their income. No criticism seems to attach to the work done in Maine so far as its cleanliness is concerned. It may in some cases affect the prices paid for similar work done in Boston, but the Maine work is principally of a different style or class from that made up in the city. But it appears to be true that, especially in the case of the contract work done in New York, considerable quantities are made up in tenement houses, amid filthy and squalid surroundings, under the poorest sanitary conditions, by alien labor, not subject to factory inspection, and for the lowest possible wages.

There are contractors in New York who take the uncut material from the wholesaler, cut and trim it in their shops, and then sublet the making to tailors in tenement houses, the work being performed in the family living-rooms. As a rule, the Boston contractors appear to conduct most of their work in shops, but the practice of sending out work to be finished in tenements is common; and, under the pressure of New York competition, the tendency seems to be toward the industrial conditions obtaining there, especially with the increase through immigration of the same sort of labor that is already so largely centred in New York. Meantime the amount of work sent to New York to be made appears to be increasing, as, for obvious reasons, prices rule lower there. This subjects the wholesaler or contractor in Boston, who desires to carry on his work under better conditions, and who is required by Massachusetts law to observe proper sanitary regulations in

his workshop, to an unequal competition, and tends to lower the grade of labor employed in Massachusetts, and to reduce the wages or diminish the employment of Boston workers.

With respect to the wages earned by the employees of contractors, I present the following statement made by an employee: —

"I have worked at this business in this country three years; have always worked 10 hours per day, and have not been idle for a year and a half. I suppose I do good work.

"The following indicates the weekly wages earned by the people in this business: Women: finishers, from $4 to $6; bushelers, from $4 to $8; basters, from $9 to $12; press girls, from $6 to $8. Men: stitchers, from $4 to $18; press men, from $10 to $18."

I also present the following tabular statement as to wages paid employees upon contract work. This statement, while it covers but a small part of the employees in the city, gives a fair indication of the rates of earnings for males and females: —

COATS, PANTALOONS, VESTS, AND CHILDREN'S CLOTHING.

Classified Wages.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Percentages.
$4.00–$7.00	..	8	8	20.00
7.00– 9.00	..	2	2	5.00
12.00–16.00	10	..	10	25.00
16.00–18.00	15	..	15	37.50
18.00	5	..	5	12.50
	30	10	40	100.00

PANTALOONS.

Classified Wages.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Percentages.
$3.00–$6.00	..	8	8	4.40
3.00–10.00	..	27	27	14.83
3.00–12.00	..	25	25	13.74
3.50–10.00	..	35	35	19.23
5.00–10.00	..	20	20	10.99
6.00–12.00	..	17	17	9.34
7.00– 8.00	3	..	3	1.65
7.00–12.00	14	..	14	7.69
8.00–15.00	15	..	15	8.24
8.00–18.00	10	..	10	5.49
10.00–20.00	5	..	5	2.75
12.00–18.00	3	..	3	1.65
	50	132	182	100.00

COATS.

Classified Wages.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Percentages.
$2.50	..	2	2	0.27
4.00-$7.00	..	17	17	2.28
4.00- 8.00	.	43	43	5.77
4.00- 9.00	..	25	25	3.36
4.00-10.00	..	42	42	5.64
4.00-11.00	..	32	32	4.30
4.00-12.00	..	38	38	5.10
4.50	1	2	3	0.40
5.00	..	3	3	0.40
5.50	..	1	1	0.14
6.00	..	2	2	0.27
6.00- 8.00	..	47	47	6.31
6.00-10.00	..	40	40	5.37
6.00-11 00	..	73	73	9.80
6.00-12.00	14	110	124	16.64
7.00	2	..	2	0.27
7.00-12.00	7	..	7	0.94
7.00-14.00	15	.	15	2.01
7.00-15.00	4	..	4	0.54
8.00-16.00	8	..	8	1.07
8.00-17.00	8	..	8	1.07
8.00-18.00	15	..	15	2.01
10.00	5	..	5	0.67
10.00-14.00	5		5	0.67
10.00-18.00	55	..	55	7.38
12.00	13	..	13	1.75
12.00-15.00	10	..	10	1.34
12.00-18.00	2	..	2	0.27
12.00-20.00	48	..	48	6.44
13.00	1	..	1	0.14
14.00-20.00	20	..	20	2.68
15.00	2	..	2	0.27
15.00-20.00	8	..	8	1.07
16.00	1	..	1	0.14
18.00	9	.	9	1.21
18.00-30.00	15	..	15	2.01
	268	477	745	100.00

In the foregoing table the wages of employees upon coats exclusively and upon pantaloons exclusively are presented separately from those of employees upon coats, pantaloons, vests, and children's clothing. The first column in each section of the table presents the various wage classifications embodied in the returns secured. It will be observed that no condensed classification has been made. I have thought it better to present the figures exactly as they were returned rather than to attempt any classification, which, from the nature of the case, would be more or less misleading.

The wages represent in most cases weekly earnings based upon piece work and, of course, vary with the amount of work given to the employee or with the amount of work which the employee may perform in the week over time; that is to say, more than the usual ten hours per day. This accounts for the somewhat wide range presented in some cases in the table. For instance, in the first section of the table, relating to coats, the largest percentage is opposite the line $6 to $12; 16.64 per cent, or about one-sixth of the total number of employees included in the returns, falling into this class, the larger part being females. A closer analysis would show, probably, that the majority of these workers were paid wages approaching the minimum figure, and that very few could earn as high as $12 per week, this wage representing exceptional workers under the most favored conditions. A similar qualification should apply to the other wage presentations in the table where the range is broad; as, for instance, in the section relating to pantaloons, where the range in one instance is from $3 to $12.

In general, it may be said that, whether for males or females, the highest wages quoted in the table are paid to a small proportion only of the workers, and represent either exceptionally skilled service or unusually prolonged work.

It will appear from what has been said that it is the influence of the New York work that is most deleterious upon the industry in Boston; and the problem is further complicated by the fact that New York wholesalers have, in some cases, directly supplied retail dealers in Massachusetts through representatives.

The following statement from a person connected with the business, now in Boston, but formerly in New York, and who is thoroughly familiar with the conditions obtaining in the trade, throws light upon the relative earnings in each city, and shows how the nominal wages per day are reduced under the sweating system by the establishment of a nominal day's work which, in most cases, requires a much longer time. It shows, also, the tendency of competition, when work is performed under such conditions in New York, to reduce wages in Boston or to bring the worker to substantially the same plane of labor as exists in the larger city: —

"The workers in these tenement houses, or 'shops,' as they are sometimes called (when a family takes one or more boarders, who are also tailors), are divided into 'teams' or 'sets,' which consist of three men,— *i.e.*, one machine man, one baster, and one finisher, who are paid as follows: machine man, $3; baster, $2.50; fin-

isher, $1.50, or $7 in all. They are given, for instance, 24 coats to be finished before they are entitled to a day's pay. Now, if they can finish them in 24 hours' time, and they work 18 hours per day or 108 hours per week, they will finish in all 108 coats, entitling them to 4½ days' pay, the stitcher receiving $13.50, the baster $11.25, and the finisher $6.75. If, however, they work but 10 hours per day, or 60 hours per week, they can make but 60 coats, entitling them to but 2½ days' pay for the week, the stitcher receiving but $7.50, the baster $6.25, and the finisher $3.75, or $17.50 in all, the price paid for making 60 coats, or 29 cents per coat.

"In this way they must work as many hours as possible in order to live. One can readily see how this must affect the Boston contractor, who is generally a Hebrew. He understands how his brother in New York is operating, he knows the major part of the Boston work is going to New York, he is desirous to retain it, and he therefore tries in every possible way to imitate the New York contractor by getting part of the work done in the tenement houses, —*i.e.*, the 'finishing'; while in the shops some already work in 'sets' and by the piece, which is the nearest approach it has yet been possible to make to the New York method. The tenement-house work in Boston differs from that of New York, as, while all the work on the garment is frequently done in the tenement house in New York, only the finishing is done in the tenements in Boston. While this may be better for the tailors who work in shops in Boston, it is no better for the community, as many of these tenements are very unclean."

The following statement, made to me by another informant equally reliable, presents corroborative evidence along the same line: —

"A machine man will do the stitching on about nine coats per day. For a man to earn $3 in New York he must stitch 16 or 18 coats; that is, he must work about 16 hours in order to accomplish the amount of work that will entitle him to a nominal day's pay. If he is thus able to earn $18 per week, he is turning out just about twice the work we do here for the same money. Girls' pay in New York shops runs from $5 to $9. If they get steady work, they will earn from $8 to $12 in Boston.

"My business in the past four years has fallen off 50 per cent. This has been a steady decline. We do not complain about the clothing made in Maine. It is made well. It comprises the rough,

strong work which there must be a certain demand for. All we complain of is New York labor working nearly double time to earn the same pay that we do, while Boston furnishes the work.

"We cannot compete with the class of people doing this work. We should starve. Neither can we endure so many hours' labor. And then we would not be allowed to live in such quarters in Boston as they live in and work in New York."

The contract system is of advantage to the wholesaler in that it enables him, as a rule, to have his goods made much cheaper than he could manufacture them himself, on account of saving in rent, salaries of superintendence, etc.; and, besides this, he is not obliged to buy his material so early as he would if he were to make it up in his own workshop, for the reason that by apportioning it among several contractors the full stock necessary for the fall or spring trade can be turned out in a short time. This obviates the necessity of locking up capital in material, and affords him more time to decide on styles, etc., and also gives him better opportunity to find the lowest market for the purchase of material.

Unscrupulous contractors, however, under competition, having taken the work at the lowest prices, resort to every means to realize a profit. This is the objectionable feature of the system when unregulated. Expenses must be reduced in every possible way. Tenement-house labor, often recently imported, alien to our customs and contentedly living upon a plane inferior to the American standard, is seeking employment; and, by using it, shop-rent may be avoided. In these houses are found, employed either directly or through a sub-contractor, persons of both sexes, frequently entirely ignorant of our language, the entire family sometimes eating, sleeping, and working in one apartment. These are the conditions of the "sweating system," so called. The work is done by the piece, and ordinary hours of labor are disregarded.

My personal investigation of the subject in Massachusetts has led me to the following conclusions: Sweating undoubtedly exists, and is to be deplored; but, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a sweating *system*. That I may avoid misunderstanding, let me explain my meaning.

Modern industry rests upon system; that is, upon organization. Its characteristics are the subdivision of labor, the development of special skill, the use of machinery, and the correlation of a series of distinct, yet mutually related, processes. The systematic

arrangement and correlation of industrial forces toward a certain definite end, is essential to production as now conducted, and distinguishes the modern factory system from the domestic or unorganized method of production which preceded it.

So much is perfectly clear. But the slightest investigation shows that "sweating" does not rest upon system, is not even a necessary adjunct of modern methods of production, but, on the contrary, is simply an incident or condition which exists when some of the essential characteristics of modern industry are lacking; that is, when the workers are generally unorganized, when skill is least developed, and where the factory has not yet entirely superseded the domestic form of employment.

This, if true, is encouraging. For, if it were otherwise, and sweating were a distinct system of production, resting upon an organized basis, it would be exceedingly difficult to overcome it. While, on the other hand, if my contention is correct, and it is but an incident or peculiar condition, not in any way essential to the modern industrial system, but in fact opposed to the peculiar features of that system, we may reasonably expect its prevention as soon as we are agreed as to what it is, and why it occurs.

At present, however, there seems to be no general agreement as to what constitutes sweating. The agitation against it in Massachusetts has been mainly directed against the manufacture of clothing in filthy and presumably disease-infected tenements. Its motive, so far as it appeared in the demand for legislation, was the protection of the public against an infected product, rather than the protection of the workers against the exactions of the sweater. It was, in fact, sanitary legislation rather than industrial legislation that was sought. And yet I suppose it to be true that the social or industrial evils incident to sweating are far more serious than the danger from infection that may possibly be found in the product turned out under it.

Some appear to think sweating identical with the method of sub-contracting. Others again speak of it as inseparable from tenement-house employment. Now, if I am correct, it is neither of these. Sweating may accompany these, or it may not. Each of these things may, under certain conditions, develop evils which may be deplorable and which ought to be corrected. But these evils may not be sweating. For instance, production may go on under sub-contracting, or in unsanitary work-rooms, which, indeed, may be overcrowded, or it may proceed in apartments occupied by the family, and yet there may be no sweating in either case.

Sweating, if we are to be exact in our definition, implies the continuous oppression of the worker by his employer, either by underpaying him for his service, overworking him, or both.

It is possible under any industrial system; but it is not likely to occur in an aggravated form except under conditions which place a peculiar incentive before the controller of labor, whether employer, superintendent, foreman, it matters not which, to oppress the worker to his own advantage, joined with conditions surrounding the worker which make it practically impossible to avoid such oppression.

The conditions essential to sweating appear to me to be:—

1. Generally, a superintendent (either employer, overseer, or foreman) whose pecuniary reward is directly proportionate to the amount of work which can be exacted from the workers in a given time, or to the saving in labor cost that may be effected by paying the workers the lowest possible wage.

2. On the part of the workers, low degree of skill, undeveloped intelligence, and isolated or comparatively isolated employment, whereby organization is rendered difficult.

Mr. David Schloss, in his excellent and, in many respects, unique work, "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," thus emphasizes the importance of the first of these conditions when he says, page 5,—

"The true inwardness of the 'sweating system' . . . is to be looked for in the fact that the 'sweated' work people, instead of being employed under a foreman remunerated by time-wage, are employed under a taskmaster remunerated by 'the profit on the job'; that is, in strict proportion to the speed at which he can drive his subordinates."

And again, page 134, he remarks,—

"The essence of 'the sweating system' consists in the stimulus given to the immediate superintendent of labor by making his earnings proportionate to the vigilance and severity of his supervision."

To these statements he adds,—

"If it were possible to abolish the piece-work remuneration of all superintendents of labor, then, and then alone, should we have got rid, root and branch, of the sweating system." (Page 6.)

And again,—

"If it were possible to replace every superintendent remunerated in this manner (whether small employer, sub-contractor, or

piece master) by a superintendent remunerated by time-wage or salary irrespective of results, then we should entirely have done away with the sweating system." (Page 134.)

It will be noticed, however, that I have mentioned two conditions as essential to sweating, one relating to the superintendency, the other relating to the status of the worker. Both of these, it seems to me, must meet, or there will be no sweating, and by changing the status of the worker, as well as by changing the method of his superintendency, to which Mr. Schloss particularly alludes, sweating may be prevented. The method of sub-contracting usually supplies the first of these conditions, in that under it the contractor, who takes the work at a fixed price, depends for his reward upon the balance remaining after paying his employees. Thus the less the share of the employees, the greater will be his own. So, too, if a foreman or superintendent, whether under a sub-contractor or in a large manufacturing concern, is paid in proportion to the work the persons under him perform, or undertakes to produce a certain article for a fixed price,— his own service being rewarded by the balance remaining after paying the labor cost,— one of the conditions under which sweating occurs will exist; namely, the incentive which leads to overworking or underpaying the worker. In general, therefore, sweating will not occur except when a middleman, either sub-contractor, foreman, or superintendent, intervenes between the employer-in-chief and the workmen, and is paid by the method stated.

This, however, will supply but one of the conditions under which sweating occurs; the other, it will be borne in mind, relating to the status of the workers. Both, I repeat, must be joined.

Therefore, the system of sub-contracting or of rewarding superintendency out of profits does not necessarily involve sweating. When the skill required in the industry precludes the employment of a comparatively low degree of labor, or when the work must, from its nature, be done in a factory under proper sanitary and industrial conditions, or when other employment is open to the workers (possibly through a demand for labor in the district where they are employed), or when the possibility of effective organization is open to the workers, the work may go on without oppression of the worker, and, of course, without leading to serious social evils.

Thus the system of sub-contracting, even the method of payment of superintendency out of profits on the jobs, obtains in

the boot and shoe industry, in some forms of metal working, and in the building trades in Massachusetts, substantially the same as in the clothing industry, although not to so great an extent; and yet in neither of these industries has sweating, although possible, been imminent nor led to serious complaint.

The clothing industry, however, differs from these others in that it still remains, to a considerable extent, a domestic industry; and in it untrained and unorganized labor may still be employed, largely of women, who may do the work in connection with their main occupation of housekeeping.

Scarcely 30 years have passed since the boot and shoe industry afforded like opportunities. This industry has now become highly organized, and is perhaps the most complete exemplification of the supersession of the domestic by the factory system. Within the memory of men still young, the women of Eastern Massachusetts were extensively employed in their own homes in the labor incident to shoe production, while men were wholly employed in small isolated shops adjacent to their houses. The industry has now almost entirely left the home and entered the factory, and the women who are employed in it have followed the work.

The clothing industry is undergoing similar changes which are not yet complete. It has always furnished employment to women in their homes; and while the movement of the industry from the home to the factory has made great progress it has not yet entirely changed the system under which the industry is conducted.

In 1875, out of 30,916 women in all industries furnished with work at their homes in Massachusetts, 9,326, or about 30 per cent. of the whole number, were in the clothing industry. In 1885 the total number of women in all industries furnished with work at their homes had declined to 18,333, a loss of nearly one-half the number found employed in this way in 1875. But the number employed in the clothing industry still aggregated 8,383, and these constituted nearly 46 per cent. of the whole number.

It is still possible for the farmer's wife in Maine, or the women in the shore towns along Cape Cod, to earn a little money by finishing cheap clothing for the Boston manufacturer or contractor. The skill required is slight, the employment secondary to housekeeping, undertaken as an aid, but not as an absolute essential to the support of the family, and therefore willingly done for small

wages. The industrial system is exactly the same as that under which clothing is finished in the tenement houses of the city; but the status of the workers is not the same, and they can hardly be said to be "sweated."

While the domestic method of employment so largely continues in this industry, ignorant and untrained labor has during recent years been rapidly congregated in the larger cities through immigration. This labor may be conveniently employed on the cheaper grades of clothing, either in the tenements or in small adjacent work-rooms. It is, in many cases, unacquainted with our language or customs, and must accept, temporarily at least, any employment offered. It is poor in skill, poor in purse, and accustomed to poor fare, poor lodgings, squalid surroundings, and low wages; and it is, of course, unorganized. As a large part of the work in the clothing industry is done under contract, possibly the primary contractor, who receives a certain price for doing the work, also contracts with another who may be willing to take a portion at a still lower price. The final contractor is, of course, bound to take every possible advantage, in order to increase his own margin of profit, which, in any event, must be small. He is generally of the same nationality as the people he employs, but has been here longer, "knows the ropes," if I may use that expression, and also knows the peculiar habits, customs, and necessities of his employees. The conditions lead inevitably to sweating, but it will be noticed that the only *system* about it is the method of sub-contract pushed to extremes, joined with the peculiar status of the workers.

So far as the clothing industry is conducted in factories, it is subject to the same influences as other factory industries. The factory work is generally of a better grade; and the workers, being congregated, may organize to advance their own interests, to resist overwork or underpay.

The great obstacle to successful organization among the workers in this industry is the direct employment of out-workers in homes by the large concerns, and the existence of numerous small contractors who employ small "teams," or groups of unorganized workers, in tenements or isolated work rooms, which, from the conditions under which they are employed, are outside the influence of organization. The presence of these unorganized workers constantly interferes with the success of plans which the organized workers may undertake for the advancement of their own inter-

ests, and when the unorganized workers in general occupy a lower social or industrial plane, the difficulty is increased. For they will under such circumstances contentedly accept a lower wage or willingly work longer hours than the organized workers.

The organized worker thus finds the conditions which permit sweating a constant menace to his own industrial position. That these conditions are a social menace is obvious, for it is unquestionably against the interests of society that any body of workers should remain in ignorance and squalor, overworked, and underfed. In any broad view of the matter, the existence of such an industrial body is also, for economic as well as ethical reasons, against the interests of the capitalist or employer.

It is, then, desirable to remedy the conditions which make sweating possible. If correctly stated, these involve : —

1. The method of employment, including method of superintendence.

2. The status of the workers.

Change either of these, and sweating may be prevented.

The first is not likely to be changed by legislation. Employers are not at present likely to abandon sub-contracting, especially as it has definite economic advantages, as has been stated. It may be modified, perhaps, by agreement, in response to demands on the part of the workers after they have become sufficiently organized to make their demands effective.

The peculiar status of the workers may be changed by increasing skill, developing intelligence, in short, by raising their standard of living and increasing their economic value. This, again, cannot be done directly by legislation ; but, indirectly, legislation may help. With respect to the young, especially, compulsory educational statutes, comprehending not merely the literary rudiments, but industrial training as well ; besides these, enforced sanitary regulations in the conduct of industries in tenements, and generally such statutes as have for their object the protection of the worker in his employment, against the oppression of unscrupulous employers, have their influence.

Whatever tends to bring the immigrant, who is now so largely employed in this industry, under the pressure of our social environment will aid ; and much may be done under the influence of an acute public sentiment.

From what I have said it will, I think, be clear that sweating in Massachusetts has not yet passed beyond the germinal stage. It

has by no means reached the proportions it has acquired in New York, and, of course, bears no comparison with the evil as disclosed in East London, mainly because there is in Boston far less labor of the sort which permits sweating than there is in these larger cities. It is also true that the clothing industry, in which this labor is so largely utilized, is conducted under somewhat different methods in Boston.

Nevertheless, something has been done in Massachusetts to remove the conditions which make sweating possible, so far as relates to the status of the worker.

The industrial problem has not been directly met. No attempt has been made in legislation to abridge the method of sub-contracting, or to prevent the employment of foremen who are paid out of profits.*

Legislation in Massachusetts has been directed toward the enforcement of proper sanitary conditions in the tenements where work is carried on, and toward enabling the purchaser of clothing to know whether or not it is tenement-made.

In a report upon this subject made to His Excellency, the Governor, and by him transmitted to the Legislature, prior to legislation, in March, 1891, I made the following suggestion:—

"It would appear to be possible, and it might be wise, to require those who conduct the industry in tenements to do so under a license to be obtained of the inspectors of factories and tenements and to oblige them to conform to proper standards as to cleanliness and sanitation."

The legislature in that year did not proceed so far. It did, however, extend to tenement-house work the system of inspection that already applied to factories. At the recent session it introduced the license system.

The conditions under which these licenses are granted by the Department of Inspection, of which Rufus R. Wade is Chief, are:—

1. Absolute cleanliness of apartments and surroundings.

2. No room or rooms used as sleeping apartments shall be used for the purpose of finishing any articles of wearing apparel intended for sale, nor shall any of such articles of wearing apparel, while in process of finishing, be allowed to remain there.

* Such, for instance, as in the "New Contract of Her Majesty's Office for Works and Repairs in the London District" (House of Commons' Reports, 1891, No. 109) which, after making certain limitations as to sub-contracting, also provides against the employment of "Task-men in, upon, or about the works or repairs." C. F. Schloss, "Methods of Industrial Remuneration." Pages 139, 140.

3. In case of removal, or in case of any contagious or infectious disease in the family of the person holding a license, or in any family residing in the same building, notice must be at once sent to the inspector of the district.

4. No person or persons not members of the family shall be employed in finishing any such articles of wearing apparel intended for sale.

At this date about 700 applications have been filed for licenses. These are mainly from women. About 300 licenses have so far been issued. After an application is filed, a permit for 30 days is granted, during which time the tenement is inspected, and, if not found satisfactory, it must be made so, or the application is refused. I am informed by Chief Wade that the effect of the law has already been salutary, and there can be no doubt that, under a rigid system of inspection, permanent improvement will result.

Unfortunately, this legislation, while operative in Massachusetts, will not protect the industry against competition with those who do not conform to such standards elsewhere, nor protect the community against infection which may exist in the imported product. In order that the purchaser may know the origin of the product, however, the law further provides, under penalty, that whoever knowingly exposes for sale tenement-made clothing shall cause it to bear a tag or label, upon which shall be legibly printed the words "tenement-made" and the name of the State and the city or town where such clothing was made. The law also provides that the district police shall examine ready-made clothing brought into the Commonwealth for sale which has possibly been manufactured in whole or in part under unhealthy conditions, and the provision as to tagging is supposed to aid in the enforcement of this provision. If, upon examination, the goods are found to contain vermin or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, the district police are required to make report of their findings to the State Board of Health, which, thereupon, may make such order or orders as the safety of the public shall require.

This legislation, if enforced, will remove some of the obnoxious features which have accompanied "sweating," and, so far as it enforces cleanliness and sanitation, will tend toward raising the plane upon which the industry is conducted, and toward improving the status of the workers.

5. ABSTRACT OF PAPER BY MR. HICKS.

William L. Hicks, Chief Inspector of the Boston Board of Health, in a paper on "Tenement House Work-rooms in Boston," said, in substance, that the legal definition of a tenement house in Massachusetts is a building which, or any portion of which, is occupied or intended to be occupied as a dwelling by more than three families, living independently of one another and doing their cooking on the premises, or by more than two families above the second floor, so living and cooking. This definition applies to a great variety of houses, which are occupied by all classes of people, from those of the highest social standing to those of the lowest, as can be judged from the rentals, which range from $6,000 a year down to less than $1 a week. In neither the best nor in the worst of the classes of houses mentioned is any work done beyond the ordinary housework; in the lowest class, for the reason that the vicious do no work that they are not compelled to do to supply their immediate and daily wants. The practice of manufacturing or finishing clothing or other articles in tenement houses is not so prevalent in Boston as might be supposed. Many families are accustomed to take home work of various kinds. Generally, they are honest, frugal people; and in many cases they are families where, through misfortune or otherwise, the head is unable to support them; in which cases such work is an actual necessity, and they cease to do it when not an absolute necessity. It is a rare exception that the apartments occupied by these workers are found in an uncleanly condition. This work is done only by the very poor, who have not the means to occupy better quarters and who prefer a life of honest toil to one of dependence or worse. The houses themselves are frequently so near together as to prevent the free inlet of sufficient light and air to make the habitations and work-rooms comfortable and healthy.

In this connection it may be well to consider the fact that, as much of the ready-made clothing in the market is manufactured or finished in the country districts, where no medical or sanitary supervision is had, much more danger of the spread of infectious diseases is to be apprehended than in this city, where a watchful

supervision is constant and thorough. Although frequent and careful examinations of the lower class of tenement work-rooms prevail throughout Boston, but one case of chronic disease has been found among these workers during the present year; and this case, which to the casual and inexperienced observer seemed a possible source of danger, was, after a thorough medical examination, declared harmless. Most of the workers in these tenement houses are women, and almost exclusively adults, though there are some men engaged in various industries in their habitations. Some are engaged in making or finishing ready-made clothing, while others do a sort of custom work, repairing, etc. It is a singular fact that almost all the dressmakers in the poorest neighborhoods are men. These workers are almost invariably foreign born. The Western Islands furnish the larger number, the smaller number being mostly Neapolitans and Hebrews.

6. THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

BY JOSEPH LEE, OF BROOKLINE, MASS.

The first discovery that one makes in studying the sweating system is that there is no such thing. Not only is there no system coextensive with the popular use of the word, but there is no single characteristic which is found in all the cases to which the word is applied which is not also found in a great many other cases to which it is not applied. The words "sweating system," in short, have no definite meaning.*

There is, nevertheless, a subject, or a group of subjects, for our discussion to-day; namely, certain industrial conditions, their causes and possible remedies. The only important thing for us, in this connection, is that the subjects grouped together shall be such as naturally go together, and can therefore be profitably considered at the same time, and that we shall make it clear at all times just what we are talking about. I hope that the papers read here to-day will be found sufficiently related to each other to aid in the practical consideration of important social problems.

My object has been to aid in discovering whether a grievance exists. If so, what it is, and what, if any, is the remedy. My general plan has been that I, in my paper, which is founded chiefly on the House of Lords Report,† should present certain industrial con-

*See Report of House of Lords Commission, vol. v. p. xlii., "171–174," and Index to Report, vol. i., "Sweating System." From the concise definition "subcontracting" to the more sonorous "grinding the faces of the poor" of Mr. White, the people's champion, who opened the prosecution before the House of Lords Committee, the definitions given are many and various; but as yet no two people have ever agreed upon the same one. The conclusion I have come to is that "sweating," like charity, covers a multitude of sins, and is an unsatisfactory question-begging bit of slang at the best.

†The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords is published in consecutive years, from 1888–90, and consists of five folio volumes besides two volumes of index; and there are 32,476 questions and answers. From the great number of witnesses (291: see p. iii. of Final Report), and the rambling nature of the answers of many of them, the different subjects taken up are mixed together in about the same way as though one were to take an encyclopædia, put each sentence upon a separate slip of paper, and then draw these slips out of a bag, and have them printed in the order in which they came. The only key to this maze is the Index, which I have not found entirely reliable, and a few references in the Final Report. Any reference in a note to this article, omitting to name any book, refers to the House of Lords Report on the sweating system, 1888–90. If reference is simply by a numeral, it is to a question in that Report, so numbered, with its answer. If by a Roman and Arabic numeral (as ii. 572), it is to a volume and page of that Report, and a reference to "Index" is to its index (two folio volumes).

ditions found in England, with sufficient discussion of the practical problem of what can be done about it to show the bearing of the facts, and then to get experts to present an account of such conditions obtaining in this country as seem to have most importance in relation to the practical question of legislation.

Description.

The trade to which I have paid most attention, as it is the one in regard to which the question has most forcibly arisen in this country, is the tailoring trade, chiefly as it exists in London.

A typical "sweating-shop"* in the tailoring trade is a room 10 feet by 12, and 8 feet high, with six or seven† men and women, some with sewing-machines and some without. These rooms are often, but not usually, lived in by the people employed in them. The people are all busily at work; and it is impossible to tell, by looking at them, which is the sweater and which is the victim.‡ The employer, the so-called "sweater," hires the room together with his lodgings; but there seems usually to be a distinction between lodging and workshop to the extent of his sleeping with his family in an adjoining room.§ Then comes the large shop, like that of Mark Moses, who was one of the chief witnesses before the House of Lords Commission. These shops will contain from 10 to 20 workers, seldom more than 25,‖ and will be built in what they call the "garden" in London; namely, the back yard, or in an attic.¶

But besides these regular shops, large and small, there are also a very large number of home workers. The workers in the shops

* For general descriptions of sweating see the various articles on "sweating" and on the various "sweated" trades in Charles Booth's "Labor and Life of the People."

† See Miss Potter, in Booth's book, "Labor and Life of the People," i. p. 288, a table showing that the great number of sweat-shops contain less than 10; Index, i. p. 442, "Tailoring Trade," xxviii. (132) and (133); "Labor and Life of the People," Charles Booth, i. p. 239; Burnett, ii. p. 569 *et seq.*

‡ The sweater works as hard or harder than his men. Burnett (Labor Correspondent of Board of Trade, ii. p. 572), quoted by Miss Potter, "Labor and Life," i. p. 220; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 491, 231, 293; Louis Lyons, 1776.

§ Burnett, ii. p. 572; Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 220, 221.

‖ Numbers in larger shops,—see Index, i. 441, "Tailoring Trade," xxv. 121,—one hundred or two hundred hands, testified to, average 20; Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," i. p. 231, only fifteen out of nine hundred "sweaters" in East End employ over twenty-five hands, 80 per cent. less than ten.

¶ Miss Potter, "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 221; Burnett, ii. p. 571; and many other witnesses.

are mostly Jews.* The home workers are almost entirely Gentiles, and are chiefly women.

Organization.

The usual organization of this industry is that the sweater, or master tailor, usually a Jew,† goes himself to the clothing firm and gets orders or contracts, which he executes by hiring people to work under him in the shops above described. The firm supplies the material, all cut;‡ and the sweater puts it together. There have been intermediate contractors between the sweater and the firm, but these are dying out;§ and no instance of one was brought up before the House of Lords Commission.‖

The home workers receive their work partly from sweaters (small employers), who will sometimes sublet to them a part of their work,¶ partly direct from the wholesale or retail tailor shops,** and partly from contractors, who take contracts from large shops and distribute the work among these home workers.††

There is a tendency now for firms to start shops of their own in the East End of London, and distribute the work from there to these home workers, thereby saving for themselves the profits of the contractors.‡‡ Home workers for the London trade are not confined to London. A great deal of clothing is sent to the provinces, as they call everything not London, and there made up in the homes of the people by the women. This business is done by

* Burnett, ii. p. 572; Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 210–215.

† Not so outside of East London, apparently. Lyons, 1772–4, 3672, 1947–8.

‡ Labor and Life, etc., i. p. 483, etc.

§ Arnold Henry White, 1351; Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 228, "A Fiction of the Present." And see Index, i. p. 460, citing Morris Stephany (Secretary Jewish Board of Guardians), Arnold Henry White, Rev. Wm. Anderson (vicar of Old Ford, twenty years in East London), Rev. James Munro (minister in Bethnal Green), and Lionel Lindo Alexander (Honorary Secretary Jewish Board of Guardians).

‖ So Miss Potter, in *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890, pp. 887, 888.

¶ Index, i. 458. Buttonholing thus sublet. Burnett (Labor Correspondent of Board of Trade), 17242; *contra*, Lakeman (factory inspector), 16627. Sometimes the chief machinist in a sweat-shop takes the job on contract. Burnett, 17242; Lyons, 181, 1827–8. Sometimes the women home workers sublet the work again to other women. Burnett, 17242; White, 1308, 1321; Adamson, 2587; Munro, 1371; and ii. p. 573.

** *E.g.*, "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 236.

†† Labor and Life, i. pp. 485, 486, etc.

‡‡ See, *e.g.*, Index, i. p. 460, citing Mr. Hawes, Manager Working-women's Co-operative Association, Limited, formerly a master tailor.

large contractors, who own a wagon and take the goods round to the cottages, and bring them back when finished.*

To understand the way in which the work is divided among these different agencies of large and small sweaters and home workers, it is necessary to understand that all the clothing trade is divided into three parts, one of which manufactures coats, another vests, and the third what in England are called trousers, and in America are known to the trade by the name of pants.† There is also the juvenile clothing trade, distinct from the other three. These different branches of the tailoring trade are divided up somewhat as follows: In the West End of London, where the best clothes are made, the whole suit is made by skilled journeymen tailors, paid good wages and working chiefly on the premises.‡ Of this trade, the very best is the making of riding trousers and riding habits. As we go east in London, descending in the social scale, the clothes are made more and more away from the premises of the firm.§ The coat trade in these intermediate grades is almost entirely in the hands of the sweater, both ready-made coats and those made to order. Vests are made partly by the sweaters and partly by women workers at home, the former getting the better, and the latter the worse quality. The bulk of the trousers trade in these lower grades, and the worse classes of the coat and vest trade, are in the hands of Gentile women working at home.‖ There is great subdivision of the work.¶

The great rival of the home workers, as distinguished from those employed by a sweater, is the provincial factory where women are employed. These factories are located in garrison towns or in railroad centres, where there are a great number of women, wives of soldiers and railroad men, who overcrowd the local market for women's work, and are consequently ready to work for the factory at very low wages.** The only branch of the

*See testimony of Alfred Jordan Hollingford (wholesale clothier, exporter, and retailer), 9421–9435, 9540, 4436–7; Lyons (tailor, journalist, and reformer), 1847–50.

† Burnett, 17229; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," i. and ii. See Miss Potter's account of this trade in "Labor and Life of the People," i. pp. 209–240, which is substantially confirmed by the witnesses before the Commission.

‡ Index, i. pp. 409–411; *e. g.*, Nichols & Co., of Regent Street.

§ Index, ii., "Tailoring" (291) and pp. 409–411 *et seq.*; *e.g.*, Macqueen & Co. and Hollington.

‖ See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade."

¶ Index, i. p. 433.

**"Labor and Life," etc., ii. p. 316. See below, p. 118, on comparative advantages of factory and "sweat-shop." Burnett, ii. p. 571. If the factory were cutting out the "sweater" as well as the home worker, the problem would be solving itself; but that is not generally the

clothing business in England in which there is any foreign competition is the juvenile clothing trade.* This is chiefly in the hands of German sweaters and women home workers, and the competition is chiefly from Germany.

The above is a rough description of the tailoring trade in London, but it is not quite true that even the best class of work is done entirely on the premises of the tailor who sells the clothes. It was shown during the inquiry that some of the best West End firms, including Poole,† had, to some extent, given out their work to be made up by sweaters;‡ and it seems to be the case that the Jew sweater is getting a larger and larger part of the trade.§ Sometimes subcontract practically exists upon the premises of the large firm, a foreman being paid so much a garment.‖

Before going into the questions of wages, hours, and sanitation, I will give a brief description of the organization of some of the other trades in which the evils complained of exist. In the chain and nail trade ¶ there is a middleman, or sweater, very much as in the tailoring trade, who takes contracts and manufactures in his own shop, and sometimes sublets to a "staller," who, however, is not a home worker, but hires space in the sweater's shop.** They have also a middleman without a shop,†† as in the tailoring trade. The nuts and bolts trade is similarly organized.‡‡ In the cutlery trade at Sheffield they have so-called "little masters," to whom the large masters let rooms in their own buildings, with steam power.§§ Also, as in the tailoring trade, there are out-workers who work directly for the large firm without the intervention of a middleman.‖‖

case. The factory is a rival of the sweater in the provinces, but not in London. C. Booth, 307, 309, 345; Mark Moses, 8790; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxv. (124, 125, 126), lvii. (257); Compton, 10555–7. Factories beating sweaters *generally*. Miss Potter, 3299; "Labor and Life," etc., ii. p. 316. But see Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 232. In the boot trade, owing to the introduction of American machinery, the factory is more likely to win. Flateau (a manufacturer), 10073–84, 10132, 10144. See Schloss's article, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 548.

* Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 235; and Potter, 3300, 3301.

† Index, i. p. 457, "Tailoring Trade" (286–8), citing uncontradicted and circumstantial evidence of Myor Wilchinski.

‡ Index, ii. p. 457 (272) (Nichols & Co.), and see preceding note. So in "Labor and Life," etc., ii. p. 315.

§ Burnett, ii. p. 570; Potter, in article above cited.

‖ Index, i. pp. 409–411 (Nichols & Co.). And sometimes the chief machinist in the sweat-shop will make a similar contract with his employer. Louis Lyons (tailor), 1827–8. (Sweater on manufacturer's premises in boot trade. Schloss, "Labor and Life, i. p. 275.)

¶ Index, ii. pp. 138, 139. ** Juggins, 17688–90. †† Final Report, p. xxvi.

‡‡ Index, ii. p. 161. §§ Uttley, 24710 *et seq.* ‖‖ See Index, i., "Middleman," ii.

The boot trade is organized almost exactly like the tailoring trade,* and in it the evils seem to be the greatest.

In the cabinet and upholstery trade, of which great complaint was made in the inquiry,† the characteristic seems to be that the small masters,‡ — "garret masters," as they are called,— do not in general work on material furnished by others, but make and sell their product themselves,§ sometimes direct to the customer, hawking it around,‖ sometimes getting orders from the large factory,¶ just as any factory may manufacture on orders, supplying their own raw material, and sometimes making their goods on speculation and selling them to whatever big dealer will buy them.** There are also in the cabinet trade journeymen who take the job on contract on the master's premises.††

In the engineering trade, Mr. Burnett, Labor Correspondent for the Board of Trade, formerly Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, testified ‡‡ that it was at one time common for a man to take a contract for setting up a steam-engine or the like, and to hire men to do the job under him; but the society struck against this arrangement, and now the work is still taken on contract, but the wages are divided proportionally among those who do the work.

In the shirt trade the common arrangement is for some one to take a contract at so much a dozen, sometimes cutting the shirts himself, sometimes not, and giving them out to be sewed.§§

The system in the fur-making and water-proofing trades and in mantle-making is much the same as in the tailoring trade.‖‖

* See Index, i. pp. 41, 42. In the boot trade there are masters who sell direct to customer. So in nail trade. Miss Potter, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890, p. 888.

† See Index, i., "Arnold Henry White."

‡ See Baum, 3083.

§ See Index, i. pp. 84, 85, 93, 94; Schloss, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 543.

‖ Index, i. p. 86; Potter, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890, p. 888.

¶ Index, i. pp. 86 and 99; and "Cabinet Trade," xvi., and 3080, 3081 (Baum).

** Index, i. pp. 86 and 99; Maple, 6154; Index, i. p. 300 (4).

†† Lebus, 7762–5, 7768, 7775, 7780–1.

‡‡ 17311.

§§ See evidence of Mrs. Dwelly, Index, i. p. 413 (23).

‖‖ See Index, i.; Index, ii. p. 264; Platt, 31114-5.

Extent.

In regard to the number of people employed under the various conditions investigated, the report gives no figures of much value.*

The number employed in the "sweated" portion of the tailoring trade in London, such as I have described it, was about 18,000 in 1888, of whom about 15,000 were in East London and Hackney, in the employ of about 2,000 sweaters.

Wages.

To return to the conditions obtaining in the tailoring trade as carried on in the homes and small workshops in London, the matter of wages is a very hard one upon which to make any general statement. The wages paid different individuals are not alike in any two cases,† and the variations are still greater between the amounts as testified to by the different witnesses. They are generally day wages, not by the piece;‡ but the more driving employers insist on a certain stint.§

Perhaps the best general statement of wages in this branch of the tailoring trade in East London is Miss Potter's,‖ taken with the caution which she gives of allowing for the time during which the worker is idle, and for the fact that beginners get nothing at all, because they do not know the trade. Miss Potter's estimate is that, "excluding the general hand of the domestic slop-

*The Amalgamated Society of Tailors in 1883 made the total number of tailors "under the sweating system" in London 15,000 (Burnett's report in House of Lords Report, ii. p. 570 *et seq.*); and Mr. Burnett thinks that in 1888 it was 18,000 to 20,000, and that there are at least 2,000 sweaters in the East End. Mr. Booth ("Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 239, 180, 181) gives the whole number of tailors' shops in the whole East End of London in 1888 as 1,272, exclusive of "a large number of domestic workshops occasionally employing outside labor." I calculate the number of workers in these 1,272 shops as 9,000. Mr. Booth gives the total number of tailors in East London and Hackney in 1881 at 15,674.

Mr. Lakeman gives the following list of trades that are carried on in people's houses: "Mantle-making is largely carried on in people's houses, as are also the ostrich-feather making, fancy-box making, umbrella-making, artificial flower making, collar-making, buttonhole-making, portmanteau-making, trousers and vest making, and knickerbocker-making."

†Burnett, ii. p. 572. Mr. Burnett reports that in thirty cases which he carefully investigated women machinists got from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 6*s.* a day, and in ten cases women basters got from 2*s.* 10*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," pp. 478–487.

‡Burnett, ii. p. 572; Miss Potter, "Labor and Life," etc., p. 221.

§Miss Potter, *ibid.*, p. 221. In New York a "day" has no reference to time, but means a certain amount of work, say 10 coats.

‖Labor and Life, etc., i. pp. 223–225.

shop," in the East End coat-making trade 4½*d.* per hour for men and 2½*d.* per hour for women "is the low-water mark of ordinary but mature labor," and that a greener takes three months to one year to learn. The all-round hand of the slop-shop is learning nothing, and will never rise above 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and often gets less than 1*s.* for twelve hours' work. 9*d.* an hour for men and 6*d.* for women is the high-water mark of exceptional skill.

In the large shops competent labor gets from four to four and a half days' work per week. With medium shops and average labor it is three days per week, and the great majority of permanently unskilled and untrained workers get but two and a half days' work per week on the average.*

Hours.

In regard to the hours of work there is not, perhaps, as much variation as in the matter of wages. Sifting the evidence and taking what the more reliable witnesses say, it seems that in the busy season the hours average fourteen a day for five days in the week, sometimes twelve hours another day, with a long day on Thursday and no work on Saturday.† The irregularity of employ-

* In the tailoring trade the men's wages, according to Mr. Burnett (Appendix No. 2, vol. ii. of Report, p. 584), run from 10*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day. The women occasionally make 6*s.* a day, but the average is "very low." The committee, in their Report (p. 5), say that prices (meaning wages) are lower for garments than they used to be, but that they cannot make up their mind whether or not it is owing to the introduction of machinery. See also Final Report, "Conclusions and Recommendations," section 176. "Sweated" boot-makers get 12*s.* to 14*s.* a week (Schloss, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 260). Wages of home work, see, for instance, "Labor and Life," etc., ii. pp. 317, 318. Wages are slightly worse in boot trade than in tailoring trade ("sweated" portions), because less skill required, Schloss, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 847. For comparison of wages of home workers and of those employed by small contractors or sweaters see below, "Subcontract." See also "Wages," Index, i. and ii., especially ii. pp. 259–265, and Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," pp. 478–487, giving an elaborate table of the evidence.

† Rev. William Adamson, vicar of Old Ford, testifies that he has known them to work twenty-two hours, and fifteen is not exceptional (2625). The witness, Plattman, had worked forty hours at a stretch (2072–5). Mr. Stephany, Secretary of the Jewish Board of Guardians, says (157, 162) that fourteen hours and, again, that thirteen hours is an ordinary day's work. Mr. Adler (155, 156), deputy chief rabbi, says that eighteen hours is an ordinary day in the boot trade; and Rev. L. L. Alexander says (5367, p. 524) twelve and fourteen, but that they are two days idle in the week, so that the week averages ten hours a day of work (5740). See also table giving summary of testimony as to hours in the tailoring trade, pp. 449, 450, vol. i. of Index; "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 490. Hours in the boot trade are about the same. See, *e.g.*, Schloss, "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 276, 247, 289–293, 252, 260. Hours of well-paid journeyman tailors are usually twelve; often, however, fourteen to sixteen. "Labor and Life," etc., ii. 309.

ment is one of the great evils of the trade, and increases as you go down in the scale.*

Sanitary Condition.

The sanitary condition of these places, of course, varies very much; but there is abundant evidence that it is very much worse than it should be permitted to be in a great many cases.

The following description by Lakeman, one of the factory inspectors, gives some idea of the dirt and clutter found in some of the small domestic shops: —

Q.† — "Could you explain to the committee the general sanitary conditions you found in these 1,478 houses you visited?"

"The habits of these people are very dirty, and they seem almost to revel in dirt rather than in cleanliness." He finds "a very revolting state of things in regard to sanitation. . . . Going into some workshops, you find a filthy bed on which the garments which are made are laid; little children lying down in all forms [*sic*],— perfectly naked little things lying about the floor, and on the beds frying-pans and all sorts of dirty utensils, with food of various description on the bed, under the bed, over the bed, everywhere; clothing hanging on a line, ashes all flying about, and the atmosphere so dense that you get ill after a night's work there. . . . I have tested the atmosphere of these rooms many times, and found it 95."

Thinks the previous evidence "not at all too black," even including that of Lyons,‡ the most emphatic witness against the sweaters. He says in regard to the "lowest grade of sweating":

"If I were asked my opinion as to what I think of it as to sanitation, I should say it is more deplorable in many instances than tongue can describe."§ The sanitary arrangements are often defective and often insufficient.‖

* *E.g.*, "Labor and Life of the People," ii. pp. 305, 306, referring to the well-paid tailoring work. Same, i. 488, speaking of the small-master system. Final Report (House of Lords), iv. sect. 6. They are out of work for weeks together; *e.g.*, Potter, "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 225. Larger "sweaters" better in this respect, same.

† 16650. Compare Rev. James Munro (Congregational minister, Bethnal Green, aided in writing "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London"), 1367.

‡ 16797–9; *cf.* 1788. § 16799.

‖ See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxvi., one water-closet for fifty persons of both sexes is the worst case cited; Schloss, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 548, 60 per cent. of the sanitation is unlawfully bad. See James Ball Lakeman (factory inspector), 16552, 16706 and following, and

In regard to overcrowding, there is a mass of testimony, the upshot of which is that very much too little cubic space of air is allowed.* I find reliable evidence that it goes as low as about 60 cubic feet per person, whereas it seems that a fair allowance is 500 feet to a person, accounting every gas-jet, when lighted, as equivalent to three persons.†

The ventilation, too, is often defective,‡ and the shops are often overheated.§

There is a conflict of testimony in regard to insufficient light.‖

The evidence seems to be that the conditions as regards sanitary arrangements and lack of air are the worst in the small domestic shops,¶ and fairly good in the large shops.**

17168-82; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxiv. and following; "Labor and Life of the People," ii. p. 313; and Index, ii., "Sanitation." There is abundant testimony on this point. Sanitary condition not always bad, however. Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler (delegate chief rabbi, exercising all duties of chief rabbi since 1876), 5740. There is, upon the other hand, some evidence that the regular West End and city tailors' shops are worse, because of the higher rents. Moses, 8781-4.

*See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xl., for general testimony that shops are "overcrowded" and that they are not. The testimony is strongest against the Jewish home workshop, and comes from such different sources as Lakeman, Edward Squire, M.D. (physician to the North London Hospital for Consumptives), 17404, Lyons, Miss Potter, and Sir Lionel Lindo Alexander (Honorary Secretary Jewish Board of Guardians), 5377; *cf.* Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 221. The large shops are better in London in this respect also. Sir Lionel Lindo Alexander, 5377; Squire, 17404. The boot trade is worse for overcrowding. Sir L. L. Alexander, 5377, p. 528; *cf.* Mr. Schloss, in "Labor and Life of the People," p. 289 *et seq.* See also Index, i., "Boot Trade," x.; Lakeman, 16739; Hoffman (foreman in shoe-shop, then employed by *Shoe and Leather Record*), 1052, 1058-9, 1103, 1104; Flatau (boot manufacturer), 10077, 10150; Adler, 5740, p. 563.

A few children are employed finishing boots. Index, i., "Boot Trade," xxix. (186, 187). I have found no evidence of their being employed in tailoring.

The testimony as to overcrowding is weak in figures. The worst I have found is 52 cubic feet per person, allowing eight feet for height unspecified; Burnett, ii. 572. Squire gives a case of about 160 (17412), Lyons of 130 (1790), and also a case of 43½, but proved on measurement by Lakeman to contain 350 per person, or 233, if as many workers were there as Lyons said. William Cook (Alderman, Birmingham, member of Health Committee, visits shops, former M.P.) gives average in small domestic shops in Birmingham about 250 to 300 cubic feet (27582), the range from 448 to 178 cubic feet per person (27553), not over 5 per cent. under 200 (27581).

†Squire, 17441-3, 17412. 600 are allowed in barracks. Squire, 17409.

‡Rev. H. Adler, 5740; and a good deal of testimony from others. See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxix. The windows are often rotten, so that they stick and won't open. Squire, 17413.

§So say many witnesses. Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxviii. It must be so, because fires are needed three days in the week for the irons used in pressing.

‖See Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxvii.

¶George P. Bate, M.D. (medical officer of health for St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, for fourteen years, certifying factory surgeon), 31884; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxiv. and following; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5377; Charles Booth, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 490; Miss Potter, *ibid.*, p. 220; Edward M'Leod (President West London District Amalgamated Society Journeymen Tailors), 8217-18, 8220.

**Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xxxiv. and following; Hon. Robert Wellesley Grosvenor (Chairman Army and Navy Co-operative Society), 10646-50; Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life,"

The Lords express their opinion that, "where sweating exists in other trades and localities than those inquired into, the system is of the same character and produces similar results."*

So much for description of the conditions. The evils found consist in low wages, long hours, and bad sanitary conditions; and there are also some moral evils of which the system is accused of being the cause, which I shall deal with later.

There is no use in denying the gravity of these evils, although it is Miss Potter's opinion that, so far as the Jews are concerned, they are gradually rising in spite of them. The evils being admitted, the most interesting question is in regard to the cause.

Subcontract.†

Is Subcontract an Evil?

One cause to which many people attribute the evils to be found under the so-called sweating system is the existence of subcontract. Indeed, some people consider subcontracting and the sweating system coextensive and synonymous. Whether or not it may be coextensive with the sweating system is a question of words, but I am not able to agree that subcontracting is an evil.‡ I have not space to go at length into an argument from the facts, but the thing has been done so thoroughly already by Mr. David F. Schloss that it is unnecessary for any one else to go over the ground. In Mr. Schloss's article in the *Fortnightly* for April, 1890,§ he has shown us (1) that a great many kinds of work, some of it

etc., i. p. 220; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5377; Burnett, ii. 572; Booth, in "Labor and Life," etc., p. 497. In the provinces, however, the smaller sweaters' shops, not in dwelling-houses, some times compare favorably with the larger ones and with the regular tailors' shops. See Index, ii., "Sanitation." (*a*) As to dirt, Edward Pugh (member of a visiting committee of the Tailors Amalgamated Society in Birmingham), 27058. (*b*) As to sanitation, Charles C. W. Hoare (superintending inspector of factories for Scotland and North of England), 27160. (*c*) As to ventilation McLaughlin (ex-President of Scottish National Operative Tailors' Society), 25553. (*d*) As to overcrowding (*cf.* ventilation), McLaughlin, 25553; *contra*, William Cook, note (*), p. 114; Richmond, 28408 *et seq.* (*e*) In general, high-class tailors the worst, Henry Sylvester Richmond (seventeen years factory inspector in Liverpool), 28408; *cf.* Davis (factory inspector in Sheffield), 29046. The trouble is in shops in dwelling-houses. George Sedgwick (factory inspector, Glasgow), 26504; Pugh, 27009.

* Final Report, iii. p. 2.

† Almost exactly the same line of argument as the one here presented is followed in the *Spectator*, 60, 1648, Dec. 3, 1887. See also Miss Potter, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890.

‡ *Cf.* Charles Booth, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 485, 496.

§ Vol. liii. p. 532 *et seq.*; *cf.* also Mr. Schloss's book, "Methods of Industrial Remuneration."

very highly paid, are done under the system of subcontract, quoting as an instance Mr. Brassey's testimony that the canal men who worked under the subcontract system were better paid than those who did not, and that almost all railroad work is done under subcontract, and very much more testimony to the same effect. "The contract system," he quotes Mr. Charles Booth as saying, "applies almost throughout the industry of England." (2) He has shown us that even in the so-called sweated industries, as, for instance, in the boot trade, some of the best paid work, as well as some of the worst paid, is done under precisely the same system of subcontracting. He thus shows that subcontracting does not necessarily produce low wages. He further shows (3) that very low wages indeed are paid in industries where there is no subcontract, and (4) that the worst wages in the so-called sweated industries are received not by those who work under the subcontract system, but by those who work directly for the parties who sell the goods.* The very worst paid work in the tailoring trade of East London is that of the poor Gentile women working at home directly for the small East End slop-shops which sell directly to the customer, while subcontract characterizes the "top stratum" of the coat trade.†

So far as the comparative method can be applied to political economy, Mr. Schloss has maintained his case, that subcontracting is not an evil; but it may be said that the comparative method is not wholly satisfactory for the reason that no two workers are exactly alike, and therefore that proof by comparing one with another is impossible; that the prosperous workers under subcontract, cited by Mr. Schloss, have not been shown to be precisely

Cf. the cabinet and upholstery trade, above described, one of the industries in which the evils are much complained of as a part of the sweating system (see Index, i., "Cabinet Trade," "Maple"), and in which subcontract is the exception, as stated above.

† *Cf.* Miss Potter's account of the so-called "Tally-men," in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 236; see *ibid.*, pp. 236–239; Index, i. p. 438 (88). So Hawes (Manager of Women's Co-operative Association, Limited, formerly employing tailor), 1484, sweater next best to factory; so, also, workers in New York tell me; Clara E. Collett, "Labor and Life," etc., p. 451, *contra*. The cases cited by Mr. Schloss, except where the subcontracts he cites were taken by the men themselves and not by an employer, bear equally strongly against the theory that it is the middleman that is to blame. Just what a middleman is does not seem to be fully agreed; but, whatever he is, he seems, at all events, to necessarily be a person coming between the laborer and the consumer, and he is therefore reduced to a minimum in the case cited of the tally-men of the East End, and to be partly eliminated in the cases where poor Gentile women work directly for a slop-shop or other selling firm. These are the worst paid and most wretched of the class employed in the so-called "sweated" industries. If the middleman were to blame for the evils of the "sweating system," those evils would hardly be the greatest under conditions rendered very exceptional by his absence. See Miss Potter, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890, p. 887 *et seq.*

like any other workers of exactly equal prosperity, and that therefore it has not been shown that such workers might not have been more prosperous if they had not been working under that system.

The nearest we can come to having one man at one and the same time working under two different systems, which is the only comparison that would be thoroughly satisfactory, is where we have the same man working first under the one and then under the other. This we have to some extent in the tailoring trade, where there has been an intermediate contractor between the "sweater" and the selling firm, and where this intermediate contractor has subsequently dropped out. Where this has occurred, we have the testimony of one who has dabbled more or less in the sweating business himself, that the saving goes not to the worker, but to the firm which dispenses with the middleman.*

If we abandon the comparative method and argue *a priori* on the subject, no reason, it seems to me, can be alleged why the person who makes his goods on contract for somebody else, whether he is a conservative mill treasurer or a small Jew sweater, should have any greater desire or any greater ability to force down wages than the man who sells his goods himself to the customer or than the large manufacturer or other producer who sells to the retail or wholesale house. Whatever theory we hold of what determines the rate of wages,— whether it is the "law of supply and demand," or some direct and *quasi*-miraculous operation of his standard of living on a man's wages, or whether it depends partly or entirely on the laborer's ability to bring pressure to bear on the employer, and the employer's desire and ability to reciprocate,— I cannot see how the fact of that employer working under contract for another should put the worker into any worse position or the employer into any better one as regards the bargain between them. Nor can I see how the employer's not finding his own raw material can affect the question.

One argument used to show that subcontracting, where it does exist, must force down wages is that each subcontractor must get something out of it, and "therefore," as he does get something out of it, that "something" must come out of the laborer. The same argument would go to show that all expenses of transportation must come out of the laborer, and the abolition of our

*Munro, 1387–9. Miss Potter, "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 229 and 236, 237, *accord*. The result, Miss Potter tells us, of the disappearance of the old contractor between firm and "sweater" has been a cut of 25 to 50 per cent. in retail prices. Probably the advantage goes first to the firm, then to the consumer.

railroads might be urged on the ground that they beat down the earnings of the Western farmer. Undoubtedly, every expense in the production of any article does in one way hurt the workingman employed in the production of that article, inasmuch as it adds to the price, and thereby tends to diminish the amount of the article which will be bought by the consumer. But the subcontractor does not add to the expense of production, unless he is a more expensive connecting link between the worker and the customer than some other which might be supplied in his place. If, on the contrary, the subcontractor is the best connecting link that can be invented, he, by the same argument, not only does not decrease the wages of the worker, but increases them by taking the place of some less economical contrivance which would otherwise stand between the laborer and his market. It, therefore, behooves those who attack subcontracting upon this ground to show that in cases where it exists some more economical plan might be adopted in its place.

It is not possible here to argue at length the various economic advantages and disadvantages of the system of subcontract as it exists in the tailoring and other "sweated" trades. Among the claimed advantages are: —

1. The organization of a mass of unskilled labor very difficult to organize.*

2. Employment of people who cannot go far from their homes to a factory, or the like, as in the case of women with families of small children.

3. Saving of rent and other fixed charges of factory, especially important in the tailoring trade, owing to the great rush in that business which arises from its dependence upon the seasons and the weather.†

4. Escaping the factory laws.

5. Putting off buying material, and so saving interest and storage room, and lessening the danger of misjudging the market.

The chief economic disadvantage is, of course, paying the wages and profits of the subcontractor.

* On comparative advantages of sweating and factory systems see Index, i., "Tailoring," xxv. (124) (126); Rev. R. C. Billing, 5052; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5365, pp. 524, 525; William John Compton (owning two successful factories in the country), 10490, 10497, 10555–7; Charles Booth, 309, 345; Moses, 8790; Billing, 5052, 5158; Hawes, 1468–72, 1483–4; Wilchinski, 4014; Giffen's figures, showing great increase in export of "slop" clothing, especially from London, 1868–1888, in iv. p. 608; Arthur A. Baumann, M.P., *National Review*, November, 1888, p. 151.

† See Index, i. p. 453.

It is to be noted that the first and second of these economic advantages is also a great benefit to the laborer.

But, though subcontracting as such may have but little apparent relation to the question of wages, it may, as a matter of fact, be found to promote other conditions, favorable or otherwise, to the laborer.

Among the conditions which might be thought unfavorable to the laborer which subcontract tends to promote are the following: First, the immediate director of the laborer is more apt to have an interest in getting the work done cheaply,* and is therefore more apt to resort to all sorts of methods, good and bad, to get it done. Second, the employer under this system is apt to be of lower social standing, and otherwise less in the eye of the world than the large manufacturer, less under the semi-socialistic jurisdiction of public opinion,† and therefore more at liberty to force down wages, if he is in other respects able to do so.

The first objection seems, at first sight, to have some force; but the opinion of those best able to judge is that it is not, upon the whole, an objection, but a recommendation. Labor of the class of most of that here in question is better for the supervision of some one having an interest in getting the most work out of it. These people could not earn so good a living as they do without the stimulus of pecuniarily interested supervision.‡

Subcontract has, as a matter of fact, been the means of bringing an enormous amount of employment to a great number of very poor people. Whether this result could have been as effectually and rapidly accomplished without it is problematical.

In regard to freedom from public criticism it does undoubtedly give an opportunity for abuse. But the power to use that opportunity is far less in the thousands of small contractors each trying to get ahead of the other than is the case with the great monopoly which deals direct with its employees in a remote district or with a purchased immunity from newspaper reports and criticisms; and, moreover, in the case of the small contractor, such immunity is, at

* More apt to, but does not necessarily. A subcontractor may of course employ a foreman,— may, indeed, be a large manufacturer himself, perhaps doing a larger business than the firm for which he works; or the labor may be done at home.

† *Cf.* Miss Potter, in *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1890, pp. 889–891.

‡ See Mr. Schloss, quoted below, on the necessity of such supervision: "A dash of absolutism is a *sine qua non* to success" in employing this class. See Moses, 8784, 9090–2; Reay, 21494.

the very least, offset to some extent by the social equality and mutual understanding between master and man.*

Subcontract, also, it is charged, by facilitating employment in the home and in the small shop, prevents the laborers from being brought together, as in the large factory, and thus is less favorable to organization.† This is certainly an evil, as far as it goes.

These evils — lack of publicity and the separation of the workers — are, of course, far from being peculiar to cases where there is subcontract. The farm, the small shop, all industry on a small scale, and, to some extent, all home industry, are open to the same objections.

The evils charged, in short, are often absent where there is subcontract, still more often present where there is not subcontract, and can, therefore, if we have any ingenuity in shaping our remedy, be probably more effectively attacked in some other way than by attacking that form of bargain.

I have assumed in discussing this question that we know exactly what we mean by the term "subcontract"; but I think it would be found, if we were to decide that it is an evil, and to attempt to abolish it by legislation, that it would be extremely difficult to so frame our law that it would prevent what we wished to prevent and not also forbid a great many transactions which everybody would regard as innocent and desirable.

Oppression by the Sweater.

In close connection with this theory that subcontracting is the great evil of the sweating system is the accusation that the sweater (that is, the small employer under the conditions described at the outset of this paper) oppresses his help.

If oppression is taken to imply an interference with a person's liberty to do and to be done by as he pleases within proper bounds,‡ I think accusation has but little foundation in anything disclosed before the House of Lords Commission.

There is evidence of the workers being afraid to testify before the Commission,§ and other general testimony of their being

* See note (‡), p. 121, on social equality of sweater and his employees.

† For instance, Miss Potter, in *Nineteenth Century*, p. 892.

‡ Such interference as that by the sweater in Kingsley's novel, "Alton Locke," for instance.

§ Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," lxxiii.

frightened.* There are also many general statements that the workers are "crushed," "oppressed," "made slaves of," and the like;† but I find no evidence of the use of force,‡ and but little evidence of the use of any other means of intimidation § except the fear of dismissal.‖ Nor is there, I believe, any evidence of the employers getting power over these people by getting them in debt or the like, and using such power tyrannically.¶ There is no evidence of any attempt to prevent others from offering them employment, nor to prevent them from seeking it for themselves, nor otherwise to interfere with their selling their labor for as high a price as it will bring.

It is said that the men are kept in ignorance of the language** and of the business,†† but I can form for myself no very definite idea of what keeping a man in ignorance of the language consists in. Undoubtedly, the sweater refrains from teaching language, except incidentally. A man who works fifteen hours a day (for he must work a little longer than his men) ‡‡ cannot be expected to run a school of language in addition to his other duties. But it does not appear that the "keeping in ignorance" goes beyond this negative sort. The most interesting evidence which we have in the matter of the language used and permitted in the sweating shops is Miss Potter's testimony that, when the work is scarce, the sweater swears at the men, and, when the work is plenty, the men swear at the sweater.§§ The employer whose men swear at him is probably not able to dictate, to any great extent, what language shall be used for the purpose.

* Frederick Samuel Miers (boot manufacturer for ten years), 4251, 4256–7, 4299; James Walker, 31508.

† "Oppressed" and "crushed," etc., Index, i., "Boot Trade" (92); Miers, 4359, "harshly used"; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," lxxiii.; James Walker, 31512.

‡ I have searched under every heading in the Index I could conceive of as referring to oppression, and found nothing to contradict this statement.

§ By swearing. See Index, i., Maple, xii., *not by sweater*, however, but by foreman in a large shop.

‖ Fear of dismissal prevents joining union, Index, i., "Boot Trade" (190); prevents complaints, Lyons, 1801; prevents giving evidence, Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," lxxiii. I think we should all agree that such a use of the ability to employ or not employ a man is improper, whether or not we class it as oppression.

¶ Such evidence against landlords is given by Rev. R. C. Billing, 5048, p. 494. See L. Alexander, 5456–5463.

** Frederick Samuel Miers, 4251. †† Miers, 4252; Billing, 5067–8.

‡‡ *Cf.* a case cited by Mr. Schloss, in "Labor and Life of the People," i. p. 293.

§§ *Cf.* Mr. Booth's article, "Labor and Life," etc., p. 491: "They quarrel with that happy quality of tongue which leaves no sentiment to rankle unexpressed."

In regard to keeping them ignorant of the trade, it is probable that the sweater does not take pains to teach the men the trade any further than he finds convenient, but he can hardly have any power to prevent them from learning the trade if they have the desire and ability to do so. The sweaters themselves, of whom there are some 1,200 in the East End of London alone,* are men who have learned whatever they know of the trade as *sweatees*.

To be balanced against such evidence as there is of oppression of the sort we have been considering, there is a great deal of evidence that the small sweaters (by far the more numerous class) † are upon terms of perfect social equality ‡ and often of kindness § with their employees.

Hard Bargains.

But there is an abuse, short of oppression, of which employers may be guilty. They may take advantage of people's neccessities to drive hard bargains with them, just as one might drive a hard bargain with a drowning man. How far is it the case that the "sweaters," so called (that is to say, the small employers above described), do take such advantage of the people whom they employ? There is no doubt of the wretched condition of many of these people and of the consequent pressure upon them to make an immediate bargain, and there is no doubt that the bargains they do make are for very low wages and very hard conditions of employment; but the question is how far these low wages and hard conditions of employment are the result of an unfair bargain, made possible because their wages are already low and their conditions of life hard, and how far they are the result of the industrial incompetence of the workers. It is, of course, extremely difficult to say, in the existing absence of any agreement as to what constitutes fair wages or a fair rate of profit, what we mean by an unfair bargain. I use the term to mean a bargain appreciably worse than the person could make if he had the requisite intelligence and ability, without making any great sacrifice, to hold off for a good price, so as to sell his labor for its full market value.‖ This is the best idea I can form of what we mean

* See p. 111 above. † Above, p. 106.

‡ Booth, in "Labor and Life," etc., p. 491; note (§§) preceding page.

§ Burnett, ii. p. 572; Potter, 3357.

‖ I assume that there is such a science as political economy and such a thing as full competitive price for labor of a given grade.

to-day by a hard bargain. I use the term in this sense, not attempting to go into the question whether full market value is the proper test of what a person ought to receive.*

Here, again, the expressions which occur frequently in the testimony before the House of Lords Commission, as to "oppression," "slavery," and "grinding the faces of the poor," and also many expressions as to employers paying abominably low wages, are to a certain extent evidence that hard bargains are driven by the so-called sweaters. And there is plenty of evidence that large firms pit one sweater against another and beat them down, and that the sweaters pit one man against another and beat them down. But there is no very convincing evidence offered that the wages paid are usually below fair competitive rates.

Inefficiency.

The fact that the workers in many cases receive extremely low wages, sometimes not enough for a person to live on, is often used as an argument that their wages are not fair. The argument has no force whatever. It is contrary to what is a matter of common knowledge to assume that every man is capable of earning enough to live on. Most of these people come from Russia, where their fellow-countrymen have been starving to death during this last winter under an entirely different system of industry, in which they have tried to make their own living by cultivating the soil. The fact that a man is starving does not show that he is not being paid all the wages he can earn until we have shown that he is capable of earning a living.

I believe I am correct in stating that no attempt was made at the hearings to show that people of the same industrial grade and competence as the alleged victims of the sweating system were receiving good wages in other employments.†

Mr. Schloss has summarized the evidence in regard to the only witnesses brought up before the Commission as instances of the

* Even if one considers the receipt of profits to be unfair or oppressive, the small sweater, at least, is even then an oppressor to a very slight extent. His plant costs him very little. (See notes below, p. 127.) All the rest of what he receives besides interest on some very small sum (say $1 a year) is the wages of his labor (of superintendence and otherwise), and, according to the testimony of Mr. Schloss, who has been in the business, is not excessive as such wages.

† Mr. Schloss, however, holds that the witness Rosenberg was getting less than such a man could properly earn (*Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 536), and is inclined to think that the same is true of a large proportion of West End workers (same, p. 537), and it would be *a fortiori* of the workers of the East End.

very low wages paid in the East End of London. He points out that each of them was laboring under some disability — weak eyes, a large family of small children, or some other disadvantage — which prevented their doing a good day's work.* There is, besides, a great mass of evidence throughout the whole report tending to show that it is the unskilled workers who receive low wages, that there is a strong demand and good wages for skilled workers, and that wages vary in very close gradations in proportion to the skill of the worker.† We are not, therefore, driven to believe that these people are oppressed, in order to account for their low wages.‡

Sweaters' Profits Small.

Again, it is evident that, if the wages of these people are lower than they ought to be, it is not because the sweater is making exorbitant profits.

The best way to find out whether the sweater is making exorbitant profits, by forcing wages down or otherwise, is to go into the business and compete with him. If it is his large profits that keep wages down, it is possible to go in, make a reasonable profit, and put wages up. This experiment has been tried several times, and has never succeeded.§

Mr. Schloss, who, with others, furnished capital to one of these experiments ‖ which proved unsuccessful, is quoted as writing: — ¶

"It might be thought that, by the adoption of co-operative methods money which would otherwise be unfairly pocketed by

* *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, pp. 534, 535. See also the testimony, quoted below, of philanthropists who have been in the sweating business.

† For instance, Lakeman, 16594, 17132; Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," xcii.–xcvii.; Final Report, xxii. (as to boot trade); same, "Conclusions and Recommendations," pp. 180, 181, 185; Schloss, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 275; Miss Potter, same, p. 234; Hollington, 9463. Miss Potter says of the home workers (3321) that outdoor work is very irresponsible and very bad, so that the employers have to take it out in one way or another. "The evil is in inverse ratio to the skill" (Schloss, *Fortnightly*, December, 1887, p. 848; see also Schloss, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 535, following). The coincidence of incompetence and low wages does not of itself show that the incompetence causes the low wages. With incompetence at working goes incompetence at organizing and at bargaining, and it might be that hard bargains added to poor work in producing the result (see Schloss, *Fortnightly*, December, 1887, pp. 835–844). But the result does not in such a case *prove* that the bargains were hard or unfair.

‡ Charles Booth (376) thinks the low wages "to no important extent" due to any "artificial or exceptional cause."

§ Schloss, *Fortnightly*, December, 1887, p. 845, either collapse or else receive charity in money, orders, or unpaid work.

‖ Working Tailors' Association, Limited.

¶ Moses, 8784, quoting *Charity Organization Review* of January, 1888.

the sweater would be secured for the workers who would work under a foreman, and divide with him in just proportion the price obtained for the products of the labor of all. But we find in the very cases in which the pay of the workers is lowest the profits of the sweater exceed the remuneration of the employees of equal capacity by a sum so small as to constitute merely a reasonable reward of his superintendence, while at the same time it is doubtful whether any mere foreman could be relied upon to manage successfully a workshop in which the employees were of the type found in the 'dens' of the majority of the workers. The lower the quality of the work, the greater the necessity for careful supervision and for a certain degree of despotism: it is only the highly skilled workman who can be implicitly trusted to do a fair day's work for a fair day's wages without requiring to be incessantly superintended and not infrequently coerced."

Another more successful experiment was begun just at the time of the House of Lords enquiry in April, 1888, by Rev. James Munro and others. It was the outgrowth of tailoring factories which had been started in the East End two years before.* These factories had sold sewing-machines twenty-five per cent. cheaper than was usual,* and the Rev. James Munro claims † that they pay higher prices than the sweaters. He gives the wages they pay to the different workers, and I have compared them with the figures found by Mr. Burnett to be paid in the shop of Mr. Moses and elsewhere. I find that, according to these figures, the philanthropic experiment paid rather lower wages than the average.‡ They are paying no interest,§ and are showing a small profit ‖ which is not distributed.¶

Mr. William James Walker started an experiment in shirt-making, paying his own expenses and handing over the entire sum received from his shirts to the workers. "I find," he says,** "that

* Rev. James Munro, 1373. † 1385, 1394.

‡ They paid machinists 16*s.* and 18*s.* per week, basters 12*s.* per week, women pressers 12*s.* per week, hand sewers and finishers 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week (Munro, 1373) Moses pays women machinists 4*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* 9*d.* a day; women basters, or general "hands," an average of 2*s.* 10½*d.* a day; lowest, 2*s.* 6*d.*; has no women pressers; women fellers, 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* a day (Burnett, 17255, 17258–61). The average found in 112 workshops daily visited by Burnett was: women machinists (30 cases), 1*s.* 8*d.* to 6*s.*, with an average of 4*s.* 1*d.* per day; women basters (10 cases), 2*s.* 10*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*, average 3*s.* 6*d.* per day (Burnett, 17242–3); yearly average lower (17344–5).

§ Munro, 1373. ‖ *Ibid.*, 1384.

¶ *Ibid.*, 1396. Mr. Munro concludes (1394), "I think it impossible that a scheme of this sort shall ever embrace [*sic*] the whole of the seamstresses of East London."

** 31492.

the machinists, if they were clever, might make a living,— might earn ten shillings, twelve shillings, or even fifteen shillings a week, if they were clever and got full wages" (that is, got wages and profits and all),— "but that it was impossible for the finishers, who put on buttons and made buttonholes, to earn a living, even if they got the full wages the manufacturers paid."

A more extended experiment convinced Mr. Walker that tailoresses can make enough to live upon after paying expenses, but no dividends, ‖ but that shirt-makers cannot.* "If shirt-makers should get every penny that the manufacturers pay,† they could not live on it." He says of the sweaters,‡ "I do not say they make an unfair profit in all cases: in some they may." He does not think § that the middleman is making a tremendous lot of money in a short time.

Rev. R. C. Billing, rector of Spitalfields, testifies to an experiment he carried on for the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, in which they pay fair wages to good ‖ seamstresses; but, he says,¶ it hardly meets expenses.

As for direct evidence that the profit made by the sweaters is not large, we have the testimony of Miss Potter** and of Sir Lionel Lindo Alexander †† to that effect. Lewis Lyons, the most reckless ‡‡ of the witnesses testifying against the sweaters, says that the small ones can hardly make a living.§§ Similar testimony is given by another worker, Plattman, ‖‖ a coat machinist. We have testimony by Miss Potter,¶¶ Lakeman,*** Burnett,††† and Mr. Schloss ‡‡‡ that some of the sweaters in the lowest class of work make less than their men. Mr. Burnett §§§ tells of a sweater who claims he was making nothing, and wished to show him his pawn tickets.‖‖‖ I think sweaters like Moses, with 20 hands and upwards, make large profits.¶¶¶ The testimony is, however, that

*31494, 31496. †31498. ‡31518. §31537.

‖5047. ¶5060. **3399, 3272.

†† 5377, pp. 529, 530, 5413; and see Charles Solomon (sweater), 757, 763; Schloss, "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 261–264.

‡‡ See Lewis Lyons, Index, i. §§1825. ‖‖‖2047.

¶¶3397; "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 231. ***16792. †††17233, 17328–9, 17336.

‡‡‡ Labor and Life, etc., i. p. 293; *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 544. §§§17232.

‖‖‖ There is much and conflicting testimony about sweaters' profits (see Index, i., "Tailoring Trade," lxvii.). The Lords say (p. xv.) that the "middleman" gets "about 50 per cent. of the gross sum he receives." I think the philanthropic experiments cited above afford the best evidence on the subject.

¶¶¶ Many witnesses; *e.g.*, Lakeman, 16792; including the wages of superintendence of considerable ability; Schloss, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 544.

they are the ones who pay the highest wages:* they are not the ones, therefore, that are responsible for the very low wages that are paid.

If one is not contented with the arguments from the facts, there is a strong *a priori* argument that the profits of the sweater cannot be very large. It takes but very little capital for him to start in business,† and, in the case of the small sweater, not a great deal of ability. It is difficult to believe that a business which can be so easily entered should continue for very long to offer exceptional advantages.‡

Are Low Prices the Evil?

Miss Potter affirms that the real sweater in these industries is not the small employer, but the consumer.§ The unfairness, according to her theory, is not as a question of wages and profits between employer and laborer, but as a question of prices between producer and consumer. I should prefer to call it unfairness as between different groups of producers, labor and capital engaged in producing one commodity contending through the medium of the respective prices of the commodities with labor and capital producing another.

Of unfairness of the above description no evidence whatever was offered. No attempt was made, as I have already stated, to show that people of the same degree of industrial competence as the "sweaters" were being paid better than they in other industries. There is, indeed, a certain amount of antecedent improbability in the theory that a large number of men and women, many of them belonging to the race having the greatest reputation for intelligence in money matters of any race in the world, remain in an employment in which they are systematically paid less than they earn,— less, that is, than they could get if they had the intelligence to sell their labor in the best market. Ricardo's treatment of political economy as an exact science has been, not without plausibility, attributed by Miss Potter to his being a Jew.‖ If political

* Many witnesses; *e.g.*, Potter, 3397–8; Schloss on Moses, *Fortnightly*, April, 1890, p. 536.

† *Il.*, Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 232; 2*l.*, Lyons, 1777; *cf.* White, 1323; 3*l.* to 5*l.*, Adamson, 2623, 2638.

‡ Great competition among sweaters,—a great deal of evidence; *e.g.*, Burnett, ii. p. 571; Stephany, 2534; Price, 4200; Moses, 8790; Macqueen, 9379, 9396; Hollington, 9432; Burnett, 17243, 17306; Solomon, 757, 763.

§ Labor and Life, etc., i. p. 238.

‖ Apparently, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 590.

economy is ever an exact science, it is among a race in which the economic man is peculiarly predominant. Yet this theory supposes this race to be taking part in the economic miracle of voluntarily selling their labor at less than its market price.

Conclusion as to Oppression.

So it is my conclusion from a careful study of this report that it is not shown that the *sweatees* are sweated, if that means that they get less than the fair market price for their labor.

And yet it is my opinion that they do get less than the fair market price, that this economic miracle does occur, though not to any very great extent. So far as wages are the result, not of economic conditions, but of the industrial fighting ability of the persons concerned, it must be true that these people, with their almost entire lack of organization* and their necessity of finding a speedy market for their labor, must suffer to some extent,— the more so because of the strong combinations, whether of labor or capital, which tend to keep up the prices of the commodities made by other groups of producers. The remedy, so far as this is the case, is to insist upon the right of every man to enter any trade he sees fit, whether certain other men desire to monopolize it or not, and in counter-combination. The desirability of combination furnishes one of the strongest arguments in favor of abolishing the small shop and the home workshop, where such combination is of course especially difficult.

It is worth while to point out, in conclusion, as regards this oft-repeated charge that the sweater is a tyrant and an oppressor: —

First, that the evidence shows his only method of oppression to be taking advantage of the force of competition. His only means of coercion, that is to say, is to offer to the workers better terms — terms in their opinion more attractive — than any others that are offered to them.

Second, that he could not offer better terms than he does without foregoing part of his own profits at customary rates or of his fair earnings.

And, lastly, that it is well to inquire, if the sweater is an oppressor, what shall be said of the rest of us? If the workers are driven to take his terms, it is because the rest of us have offered them either nothing or something worse. If he offers to save

* Rev. R. C. Billing, 5048, p. 494; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5467; Index, i., "Jews," xviii.; "Labor and Life," etc., ii. p. 316; *ibid.*, i. pp. 233, 307, 308.

them from drowning upon harsh and oppressive conditions, and they accept these conditions, it is because the rest of us prefer to sit on the bank and see them drown without interfering in the matter at all.

I am far from contending that society has not a duty toward these people: I am strongly of the opinion that it has, wherever it can find any opportunity of helping them. But to pitch upon the only man who is giving them what little they can get at present — who is, in fact, offering them better terms than anybody else is willing to give them, as is proved by the fact of their taking these terms — as the man who is oppressing them, who is a slave-driver, etc., etc., seems to me a very easy and somewhat contemptible way of relieving our consciences.

The Grievance.

The cause of the evils described above is not, then, to be found in "subcontract" nor in oppression by the sweater.

Immigration.

Nor is the cause to be found to any great extent, *in England*, in foreign immigration. There is a great mass of testimony as to the character of the immigrants and the effect they have produced,* not all of it unfavorable. The amount of the immigration is thought to have been too slight for the effect charged to it,† and "is found to be absent in trades where the evils complained of abound." ‡.

What, then, are the causes of the evils complained of?

*As to whether the Jews have chiefly driven others out of the ready-made clothing trade or have chiefly created this trade, see Index, i. p. 468; Moses, 8972; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5517, 5365, 5589 (p. 525); Burnett, i. p. 528; Lyons, 1770, 2018, 2030, 2035; especially Sir L. L. Alexander, 5377 (p. 529), and Giffen's statistics (above cited), iv. p. 608, on increase of exports of boots and clothing,— not very conclusive, as increased very fast before the heavy immigration. As to character of the Jewish immigration, see Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life of the People," i. pp. 579–589 and p. 225, and Booth, same, p. 495; Index, i., "Jews," "Immigration." As to their chastity, see Lakeman, 17125; Sir L. L. Alexander, 5373; Rev. R. C. Billing, 7918; White, 494, 470, 2274. The Jew is a "moral salamander," *Spectator*, Aug. 18, 1888. Their freedom from disease, Lakeman, 16653–8; and see note (†), next page.

† White (in the nature of an admission), 2284–5. Burnett thinks effect great, though number small, 17276–81, 17283, 17293, 17290.

‡ Adler, 5740 (p. 563); so Final Report, "Conclusions and Recommendations," p. 182.

Usual Causes of Poverty.

The House of Lords say in their Report after discussing several theories as to the cause: "With more truth it may be said the inefficiency of many of the lower class of workers, early marriages, and the tendency of the residuum of the population in large towns to form a helpless community, together with the low standard of life and the excessive supply of unskilled labor, are the chief factors in producing the sweater."* But these phenomena are not peculiar to any set of industries: they are the usual causes of poverty wherever we find it. The problem they present is the general problem of poverty,— a wider subject than we have undertaken to deal with to-day. Must we, then, conclude that no cause of poverty is found in the so-called sweating system, that the conditions disclosed in this inquiry by the House of Lords Commission are wholly symptomatic, and in no degree the cause of the disease?

It is agreed that the low wages of the workers are due in great measure to their inefficiency. Has not our inquiry disclosed any conditions beyond the self-perpetuating tendency of poverty itself tending to produce such inefficiency?

Weakening the Race.

One such cause is to be found in the bad sanitary and hygienic conditions under which work is carried on in many work places of the sort I have described. Not very much evidence is given in the report of the Commission as to the evil effects of such conditions,† except some testimony (especially that of medical experts) in regard to consumption caused by working in the overcrowded

* Final Report, "Conclusions and Recommendations," p. 185.

† There is some evidence given of the high infant mortality and the low vitality which obtain among the iron workers in the Cradley district; but how far these results are due to the system under which they work, and how far due simply to the lack of nourishment and of care which comes from their poverty, pure and simple, is not gone into. (See "Mortality," Index, ii.; Bassano, 22713, 22715; Adolphe Smith (Sanitary Commissioner of the *Lancet*), 22615, 22618–21, 22670, 22686–7; Index, i. p. 56, evidence of Rev. H. Rylett.) Sweated Jews do not deteriorate. Morris Stephany (Secretary Jewish Board of Guardians), 233; Miss Potter, "Labor and Life," etc., i. p. 234; L. L. Alexander, 5502–4; *contra*, White, 478; Solomon, 861; Rosenberg, 940. Rarity of disease among sweated Jews. Lakeman, 16653–8. In general: physical injury caused by sweating system, see the following note, on consumption; White, 427; Lyons, 1801, 1857; Squire (consumption from overcrowding), 17387 and following; "eventually you get a degeneration of the race," if you go on creating new cases of consumption, 17403; Fanny Eisenberger 2853; Woolf Zeitlin (Secretary Jewish Branch of Amalgamated Society of Tailors), 8106–9, 8122–4; *contra*, Mark Moses, 8823.

shops and in an atmosphere which is often full of steam from the use of hot irons in pressing.*

But direct testimony is almost unnecessary in this matter. Ask any number of doctors what would be the effect on an individual and on his children of his working 14 hours a day 5 days in the week and 12 hours a sixth day for six months in the year, and doing hard work for part of the rest of the year, in a room in which there is but 200 cubic feet of air to a person, in which there is gas burning during the large part of the time in which the work is carried on after dark, which is sometimes occupied all night by the sweater and his family, sometimes also by the workers themselves, and in which the sanitary arrangements are extremely imperfect, and I do not believe there will be a very great variety in the answers obtained.

The results in such a case have not always even the somewhat grewsome advantage of strengthening the race by the process of the survival of the fittest. Undoubtedly, those who survive are the fittest to stand the strain, but their constitution is weakened. Troubles of the lungs, especially, do not simply either kill a person or leave him alone, but are apt to impair the general health and to leave to the person's children a weak constitution and a predisposition to the same disease.† We thus have, under perfectly free competition in rent-saving, a happy combination of the ferocity of the struggle for existence (without the exhilaration of the game as played under the good old-fashioned rules of our ancestors), with the additional feature that the race is weakened, and not strengthened, by the process.‡

Infection.

In this connection we may properly notice the argument of which the greatest use has been made in the agitation against the sweating system; namely, that infection is carried from house to house in the clothing made in dwelling-houses. I think the danger has been very much exaggerated. I have read, I believe,

* See the *Lancet*, i. p. 175 (Report of the *Lancet* Sanitary Commission on the "Sweating System," 1876); Stephany, 234, 235; Bate, 31906. Dr. Squire, of the North London Hospital for Consumptives, testifies that from 1871 to 1888 of every 1,000 deaths in England and Wales, among males from twenty-five to sixty-five years old, 228 were from consumption, whereas among the tailors the number was 278 (being about ⅛ greater); and see Squire, 17427, 17394, 17398, 17341–3.

† Squire, 17387–17404.

‡ Not necessarily absolutely weakened (*cf.* Miss Potter's testimony, above cited, that the Jews, for instance, improve in spite of it), but, relatively, as compared with the results of moderately healthy conditions.

every scrap of evidence upon this point in the House of Lords Report, and have made some search through the medical journals for testimony of the same sort. I have been able to find but one reported case in which it seems to be definitely known that disease was carried in that way,—the case of the daughter of Sir Robert Peel.* That was a case of a riding habit, and therefore probably made by the highest class labor,† not what is usually classed as "sweated" labor, though working at home.

Inability to trace a case directly to this cause does not, however, mean that the cause has been inoperative. "For instance," as one witness says,‡ "in the last epidemic of small-pox at Sheffield it would have been practically impossible to say that this bit of cloth was infected and gave rise to such another case somewhere else, because the sources of infection were so wide-spread that it would have been, scientifically speaking, impossible to say such a thing as that." "But," the same witness continues, "what I did find on two or three occasions was the existence of small-pox in a house where such work was being carried on, and where there were no sufficient precautions taken to prevent the clothing becoming contaminated with small-pox infection." There is much testimony by other witnesses of the existence of disease where clothing was being made,§ and, of course, where that is the case, danger exists, unless the proper authorities have notice of the danger and disinfect the clothing. There is a good deal of general testimony that disease is actually carried in this way.‖

* *Lancet*, i. p. 175 (1876). † Index, i. p. 432.

‡ Theodore Thompson, M.B. (medical officer of health for Sheffield), 29013.

§ See Report of *Lancet* Sanitary Commission on the Sweating System, 1876, *Lancet*, i. p. 175; Squire, 17495 (*circa*); Charles C. W. Hoare (superintending inspector of factories Scotland and North of England), 27160 (p. 183), 26690–1; Woolf Zeitlin (Secretary Jewish Branch Amalgamated Society Tailors), 8070, 8071, small-pox case. *Quære* if truthful, see Moses, 8827; Thomas Gall (Secretary of Sheffield Branch Amalgamated Society of Tailors), 28447; Theodore Thompson, M.B. (medical officer of health, Sheffield), 29010–13, 29021. Clothes in process of manufacture used as bed-clothes, "when there is scarlet fever in the house," White, 1354; as bed-clothes of child with measles, Munro, 1367; with small-pox, James C. Laird (tailor, President of the Trades Council for fourteen years), 26591.

‖ George P. Bate, M.D., 31898–9, 31900, 31906 *et seq.*; Rev. William Adamson (vicar of Old Ford), 2588; Lyons, 3605, 3624; John Holley (President of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, 15,000 members), 8267, 8288; James Henry Sweeney (boot-maker, organizer of Jew tailors), 30249. There is real danger from this source, Rev. R. C. Billing, 5196–7; James Burn Russell, M.D. (medical officer of health, Glasgow, sixteen to seventeen years), 26338–9; but "provision and milk-shops much worse," George Sedgwick (factory inspector, Glasgow), 26440; Thompson (*supra*), 29010–13. Tailors' trades-unions prevent member from working if disease is in his house, granting him pay meantime. (*Quære* for effect?) Edward Madden (Secretary of East London Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors), 8003; James F. Quinn (President of Manchester Branch same society), 29767; James C. Laird, 26591. Army clothing discontinued

The remedy called for seems to be a thorough inspection based on a thorough system of notification of such cases; but, given such inspection, the remaining danger seems to me to constitute but a weak argument against a system of house industry. Every young doctor, I am informed, goes through each disease as he studies it; and the public undergoes somewhat the same experience when it learns of a single source of danger among the thousands to which it is exposed every day. The danger which we incur in riding in horse-cars is probably ten times as great as that arising from the manufacture of clothing in tenement houses in cities where there is an efficient Board of Health with due powers of inspection and for taking precautionary measures.* Those who write upon the subject are very apt to assume that the mere presence of dirt and bad smells in itself makes a room a dangerous place in which to have clothing manufactured; but I am informed on excellent medical authority that a bad smell may be perfectly wholesome, and that dirt cannot produce scarlet fever and the other diseases in question, though it forms a favorable medium for their transmission. The argument has been pressed in the main, not by medical or health authorities, but by labor organizations.

Immorality.

Another evil charged against the sweating system, of the existence of which there is some evidence, is that the mixing of the sexes in small, hot workrooms twelve to fifteen hours in the twenty-four is productive of immorality. There seems some reason to suppose, *a priori*, that the small shop is worse in this respect than the large factory. The direct evidence on the subject is not, how-

to outdoor hands, made in factory instead, chiefly for fear of infection, Mr. Geo. Dalhousie Ramsay, C.B., 11074–5. The danger of infection not great (evidence of no cases known and the like), see Lakeman, 16653, 16655; Alderman William Cook (of Birmingham, chairman of Health Committee), 27561; John Newhouse (chief sanitary inspector, Leeds), 30435; Andrew Thomas Rook (Superintendent Nuisance Department, Manchester), 29141, 29150–1; Ammon Platt (factory inspector, Manchester), 31055.

* Mr. Schloss writes to me May 5, 1892: "I am an official member, appointed by the government, of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the public authority dealing with infectious disease in London, and have been since 1887. At this moment we have a small-pox epidemic; and I am on the committee of the small-pox hospitals, which I visit, inquiring into the sources of the disease. So far I have not traced a single case to the sweating system. . . . In our last great fever epidemic the districts where the tailors work under the sweating system were just the least affected."

ever, very conclusive.* And it is certain that there is an extraordinarily high average of chastity among the Jewish women.†

The Real Grievance.

The real grievance disclosed in this inquiry of the House of Lords Commission, and we may say the real grievance of the "sweating system," is that certain industries, notably tailoring, are sometimes carried on in a way which tends to physically injure the race, with all that that implies.

Remedies.

The great evil of the sweating system, then, is not that it is a system of slavery, or that the liberty of the workers is in any way interfered with, but that, on the contrary, too great liberty is allowed workers and employers as to conditions under which the work shall be carried on.

How this evil shall be remedied is a question I have not now time to go into at any great length. The principle is clear enough. Nobody will contend to-day that it is a sacred principle that people should be let alone. The State has as much interest in the mental, moral, and physical education of its citizens after the school age as before it. The question is, in regard to any proposed interference with liberty, whether in the given case freedom or regulation will tend to produce the better set of people in the long run. We have, in the present case, upon the one hand the great desirability of having the work carried on in a way which shall be healthy for the workers, and which will tend to produce a strong race of people, and not a race enfeebled by the excessive

*That sweating system produces immorality: Rev. R. C. Billing, 5048 (p. 495), 5049, 5051, 5077, 5079, 7913, 7914–17; Lyons, 1788. White, 483, 1329 (p. 127), thinks so. Wilchinski, 3990–4072; Lakeman, 17125, 17135 (*contra* as to Jewesses, 17125, 17129); Homer (president of a chain-makers' society), 18368; Rev. Harold Rylett, of Dudley (chain and nail trade), 18481–2, 18488, 18490–2; Samuel Priest (chain-maker), 19395–7; Benjamin Hinckley, M.P. for North Worcestershire (chain and nail), 19395–7, 22471–2, but compare 22585; John George Reay (chain and nail manufacturer), 21428; *contra*, Rickarts (factory inspector), 31018–20, 30941; Adler (son and deputy of chief rabbi), 5740, p. 564; Alexander, 5373; Bassano (a magistrate in the Cradley district), 22742–54; Stephany (Secretary Jewish Board of Guardians), 239, 237, 242; George Green (in chain and nail trade), 21110; Charles C. W. Hoare (factory inspector, chain and nail), 23083, 23010; William Price (secretary of a chain and nail society), 20246; John George Reay (*supra*), 21428. And see a good summary of testimony on this point in Final Report, p. xxx. The committee "found nothing whatever to justify these imputations on the character of the people" (in the Cradley Heath district).

†See note on character of Jewish immigration.

strain of terribly long hours, lack of air, and bad sanitary conditions; and upon the other hand we have the danger of decreasing the earnings of the workers, and of putting up the price to the consumer.* We have also, upon the side of non-interference, the certainty that legislation can never confine its effects to just the cases we wish to affect. It is absolutely certain to act unfairly and harshly in some cases. We have also, upon this side of the case, our inherited unwillingness to interfere with any man's liberty as to his choice of a way of making a living, and especially our unwillingness to interfere with him in his own home, whether he chooses to work in it or not,— an instinct rooted deep in our race by centuries of experience, the source of all that we value most in our history, not to be lightly disregarded or overruled.

It is to be said, however, that, unless we do regulate the work in the small workshops and in the home, we can hardly be said to have left the question alone. We have already regulated work in factories in such a way as to impose certain expenses upon it which would not otherwise exist.† If we do not also regulate the work which is not carried on in factories, the result of our regulation will be that we shall have driven some sorts of work out of the factories and into the small shop and the home.

Again, in regard to sanitary regulations, the thing to be got by legislation is of great value; and, in regard to the thing to be lost, one may doubt whether liberty to work under unhealthy conditions is an especially valuable possession. These people will not rise and revolt against bad drainage and bad ventilation. They rather voluntarily choose to submit to such things, if left to themselves.‡ Such liberty will never make them strong with struggling, nor do them any other service. This is a case where the doctor must be called in: the patient will never voluntarily cure himself.

In regard to the small shop, I think no reason can be given why it is not just as fit a subject for regulation as the factory. In regard to the home which is also used as a shop, there is a good deal more reason why it should be regulated than in the case of the factory. By introducing outsiders into his home and convert-

* The rise in price would be slight (Schloss, *Fortnightly*, December, 1887, p. 856),— about threepence on a suit of the cheap sort.

† See *supra*, p. 118, concerning the saving of rent under the subcontract system.

‡ Miss Potter, in "Labor and Life," etc., i. pp. 568–574; Index, i., "Jews," xx.; Hoffman, 1103–4.

ing it into a work-room, the occupier has already surrendered the privacy which makes the home sacred; and the results, both sanitary and moral, of the combination of home and factory are worse in degree than in any other class of cases we have been considering.* In my opinion, the law would be justified in going to the extent (to which practical application of our present Massachusetts statute has already gone, in the class of cases to which it applies) of abolishing altogether the tenement-house workshop where more than the immediate family are employed.

Coming to the case where the family alone is working in their own home, I think here, again, the law has a right to regulate where more than the husband and wife are employed. If we refuse to regulate the matter where the other workers are children, I think we should find it surprising with what large families these people might sometimes be blessed. Moreover, the right of parents to work their children is not, it seems to me, a right of very great value to the community.

Where the husband and the wife alone are at work in the home, the regulation should simply be such as the Board of Health ought to enforce in any case, the fact of the home being used as a place of work being taken account of, along with the rest of the case, in deciding as to sufficient ventilation, etc.

Just how to frame laws so as to arrive at the desired result and go no further is a question which can only be entirely decided by trying experiments. I think the general view ought to be that whatever regulation seems best in the case of factories should also be extended to all workshops, including all cases where more than the husband and wife are employed; and that the enforcement of this extended factory law ought to be in the hands of the factory inspectors, while the enforcement of the ordinary sanitary requirements ought to be in the hands of the Board of Health. I think, further, that whatever in the way of licensing, registration of work places, or a list of the people employed by the manufacturers will facilitate inspection, ought to be made compulsory by law. I do not believe it wise or desirable that the inspectors should be chosen from present or past members of trades-unions, particularly unions in the trades to be inspected. They would have too much inclination to "rub it in" to their old employers, the manufacturers; and their employment would create an unneces-

* See notes to "Sanitation" above. This particular point as to morals is not made in the Report, so far as I know; but it is true.

sary amount of ill-feeling. We must be careful that we are not entrapped into simply legislating so as to deprive one class of people of their livelihood in order to forward the interests of another class.

I think, further, that the law should be as specific as possible in its requirements, leaving as little as possible to the discretion of the inspector,* because it would be a great aid to the inspector if he is not obliged to take the responsibility of making as well as enforcing the necessary regulations, and because, furthermore, it will remove from the inspector a great temptation, not wholly unknown (it is said) to officials in the greatest city on this continent, to show a certain undesirable sort of "discretion" as to whom they shall regulate and whom they shall let alone.

As to national regulation, I believe it is extremely undesirable that the United States should interfere in a matter of this sort, so long as its interference is not absolutely necessary. The only reason for such interference that I have heard suggested is that, if a single State undertakes such regulation, it is in danger of losing the trade and driving it into other States whose laws are less exacting, and that the several States are therefore not likely to take up the subject effectively. This fear has not been realized hitherto; Massachusetts passed a law effectually regulating the matter before any other State had done so; and New York and Massachusetts and the City Ordinances of Chicago are now dealing with it, as it seems to me, with every prospect of eventual success, without the aid of any interference from the central government.

*The factory law recently passed in New York is especially bad in this respect.

LEGISLATION.—APPENDIX.

I. The Massachusetts Law, Chapter 357, Acts of 1891, as amended by Chapter 296, Acts of 1892.

An Act to prevent the Manufacture and Sale of Clothing made in Unhealthy Places.

Section 1. Whenever any house, room, or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing, or finishing for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop: *provided, however*, that the exercise of such work in a private house or private room, by the family dwelling therein or by any of them, shall not of itself constitute such house or room a workshop within this definition; every such workshop shall be kept in a cleanly state and shall be subject to the provisions of this section, and each of said garments made, altered, repaired, or finished for sale in any of such workshops shall be subject to the inspection and examination of the inspectors of the district police, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments, or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin and every matter of an infectious and contagious nature; and every person so occupying or having control of any workshop as aforesaid shall, within fourteen days from the passage of this act or from the time of beginning work in any workshop as aforesaid, notify the chief of the district police or the special inspector appointed for that purpose of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed; and every person finishing said garments or articles of wearing apparel in any room or place used as a dwelling as aforesaid shall, before beginning such work, procure a license approved by the chief of the district police, upon the recommendation of the inspectors especially appointed for the enforcement of the provisions of this act.

Sect. 2. If said inspector finds evidence of infectious disease present in any workshop, or in goods manufactured or in process of manufacture therein, he shall report the same to the chief of the district police, who shall then notify the State board of health to examine said workshop and the materials used therein, and if said board shall find said shop in an unhealthy condition, or the clothing and materials used therein to be unfit for use, said board shall issue such order or orders as the public safety may require.

Sect. 3. Whenever it shall be reported to said inspector, or to the chief of the district police, or to the State board of health, or

either of them, that ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or any wearing apparel as mentioned in section one of this act, are being shipped to this Commonwealth, having previously been manufactured in whole or in part under unhealthy conditions, said inspector shall examine said goods and the condition of their manufacture, and if upon such examination said goods or any of them are found to contain vermin, or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, he shall make report thereof to the State board of health, which board shall thereupon make such order or orders as the safety of the public shall require.

SECT. 4. Whoever knowingly sells or exposes for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or any wearing apparel, which have been made in a tenement house used as a workshop, as specified in section one of this act, shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label, not less than two inches in length and one inch in width, upon which shall be legibly printed or written the words "tenement made" and the name of the State and the city or town where said garment or garments were made.

SECT. 5. No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments without a tag or label, as aforesaid, affixed thereto, nor shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments with a tag or label in any manner false or fraudulent, nor shall wilfully remove, alter, or destroy any such tag or label upon any of said garments when exposed for sale.

SECT. 6. The governor of the Commonwealth is hereby authorized to appoint two additional members of the inspection department of the district police force qualified to perform the duties of the members of such department.

SECT. 7. Whoever violates any of the provisions of this act shall forfeit for each offence not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars. [*Approved May 28, 1891.*]

The operation of the above law is a notable instance of what can be done by the administration of an innocent-looking law with the aid of public opinion. The effective features of the law are: —

I. That the chief of the district police, and the inspectors who carry it out, interpret it (incorrectly, perhaps) to make the work-places first described "workshops," under the general Massachusetts factory laws. The most important results of this interpretation are: (1) that separate water-closets are required for men and women; and (2) that the ten-hour law for women and minors under eighteen is brought to bear. The owners of tenement houses are seldom willing to go to the expense involved by the first of these requirements, and so an effective engine is brought to bear toward abolishing the tenement-house workshop.

II. The second effective provision of the law is the tag provision, Section 4. By means of this section the inspectors succeed in making the law as effective in regard to clothing made out of the State as for that made in it. Take, for example, the clothing sewed in New York. The inspectors go to New York, and find Boston clothing being made in a tenement-house shop (they know it, because they know the tags of every firm in Boston). One of them engages the Jew "sweater" in agreeable conversation, the other puts a private mark on that clothing. I have been shown the method, and can testify that it is easily done, hard to detect, and certain to identify the clothing. They wait till those coats are on the shelves of the Boston firm, and then send this notice: —

FORM No. 38.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

DISTRICT POLICE.

DEPARTMENT OF INSPECTION OF FACTORIES, WORKSHOPS, AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

OFFICE, COMMONWEALTH BUILDING.

BOSTON, Oct. 15, 1892.

JOHN WHITE & CO., 300 Washington St.:

Sir,— In compliance with the provisions of the Statutes of the Commonwealth relating to the inspection of factories, workshops, and public buildings, on the eighth day of October, 1892, I inspected the tenement house No. 69 Christie Street, occupied by Isaac Levi, and used by him as a workshop; and you are hereby notified that ready-made garments were being made in said tenement house, used as a workshop by said Isaac Levi, for the firm of John White & Co., and that each of said garments should have affixed to it a tag or label as required by the provisions of Section 4, Chapter 357, Acts of 1891.

The dealer receiving it does not know which of his goods have been so found, having never seen nor heard of Isaac Levi, but dealing only with certain New York contractors. Rather than run the risk of paying $50 a garment on an unknown amount of his stock, and of publicity in the matter, he is willing to concede much. He comes, or sends, or telephones to the district police-office, and asks, "Which ones?" As a condition of giving him this information, the inspectors exact a written promise that he will send no more clothing to the contractor who employed Levi. Then they tell him, and then, under this tag section, he has to tag

that lot of clothing "tenement-made" or sell it outside of Massachusetts. He chooses the latter alternative.

By this tag section tenement-house workshops in the sorts of work specified (Section 1) have virtually not existed in Boston since December, 1891; and the amount of clothing so made in New York for Boston has decreased, more being done in Boston and more down in Maine. Some New York sweaters have, in order to meet the law, moved from dirty rooms to dirty shops. Though the latter are in no way touched by the law, Boston clothing firms will refuse to receive their work, upon report and suggestion of the inspector.

III. The other effective feature of the law is the license provision (Section 1, end). Whether constitutional or not, this clause has the merit of accomplishing the purpose of putting a stop to home work in the very dirtiest of the homes (for it is to home work by the mother and daughter that it applies), and of having many of the homes made much more decent. It is equally important, perhaps, as giving a list, with the location, of the workers. The penalty ($50 to $100) is on the worker (Section 7); but the landlord is interested, because he does not want to lose a tenant, nor does he want a tenant earning nothing, and very many of the other possible tenants in his district are also sewing-women. It behooves him, therefore, to make his room pass muster as a place where sewing will be licensed. Besides, the law makes the sewing tenant keep the room decent; and it is therefore better worth while to make it so. Much, accordingly, is done in the way of lime-wash, paint, soap, floors mended, swill kept out doors, and the like. The pressure is brought on the sewing-woman to clean up, or to leave rooms that are not or cannot be cleaned up, not by the empty threat of a fine which she could not pay, but by threatening to take away her work. Her work can be taken away, because, if she were fined, there would be a trial: if there were a trial, it would get into the newspapers; and, if it got into the newspapers, the firm to which the goods belonged would be widely advertised as patronizing the dread "sweating system" in its most malignant form. Rather than suffer this, firms will, as under the tag section, promise to send no more goods to the contractor who gives them to the woman in question. When the contractor reforms, the ban is removed.

The method of licensing allows first a temporary license for thirty days. Then, as soon as the place can be inspected, the license

is either extended to give time for further amendment of housekeeping or a permanent license is given or else refused. Up to Oct. 6, 1892, 650 applications had been made, and 350 had been inspected. Of the 350, 200 had received permanent licenses, 90 had been refused permanent licenses, and 60 licenses temporarily extended, pending improvements. The great bulk of the refusals were for being dirty; *e.g.*, failure to lime-wash, and clean up, keeping swill in the room, etc.

The following conditions are printed both upon the permanent license and, as a timely notice, on the temporary license: —

1st. Absolute cleanliness of apartments and surroundings.

2d. No room or rooms used as sleeping apartments shall be used for the purpose of finishing any articles of wearing apparel intended for sale, nor shall any of such articles of wearing apparel while in process of finishing be allowed to remain therein.

3d. In case of removal, or in case of any contagious or infectious disease in the family of the person holding a license, or in any family residing in the same building, notice must be at once sent to the inspector of the district.

4th. No person or persons not members of the family shall be employed in finishing any such articles of wearing apparel intended for sale.

The inspection in Massachusetts is done by two men. The objection that I have made in the text against ex-members of tailors' organizations does not seem to be borne out by experience. I think, nevertheless, that, as a rule, the objection ought to stand.

II. The New York Law

is found in two sections of the Factory Inspection Act (Chapter 409 of 1886, as amended by Chapter 673 of 1892), and in the whole Chapter 655 of 1892, which is this: —

Laws of 1892, Chapter 655.

An Act to preserve the Public Health and to regulate the Manufacture and Sale of Clothing, Wearing Apparel, and Other Articles in this State.

[Approved by the Governor, May 17, 1892.]

Section 1. No room or rooms, apartment or apartments in any tenement or dwelling-house used for eating or sleeping purposes, shall be used for the manufacture, in whole or in part, of coats,

vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars except by the immediate members of the family living therein. The term family as in this act provided shall be construed to mean a husband and wife and their children. Every such workshop shall be kept in a cleanly state, and shall be subject to the provisions of this section; and each of said articles made, altered, repaired, or finished in any of such workshops shall be subject to inspection and examination, as hereinafter provided, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said articles, or any of them, or any part thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin and any matter of an infectious and contagious nature; and every person so occupying or having control of any workshop as aforesaid shall, within fourteen days from the passage of this act, or from the time of beginning work in any workshop as aforesaid, notify the board of health or a special inspector appointed for that purpose of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed.

SECT. 2. If said inspector or board of health finds evidence of infectious or contagious diseases present in any workshop, or in goods manufactured or in process of manufacture therein, and if said board or inspector shall find said shop in an unhealthy condition, or the clothing and materials used therein to be unfit for use, or * said board or inspector shall issue such order or orders as the public health may require, and the board of health are hereby enjoined to condemn and destroy all such infectious and contagious articles.

SECT. 3. Whenever it shall be reported to said inspector or to the board of health, or either of them, that coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, are being transported to this State, having been previously manufactured in whole or in part under unhealthy conditions, said inspector shall examine said goods and the condition of their manufacture, and, if upon such examination said goods or any of them are found to contain vermin, or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, he shall make report thereof to the board of health or inspector, which board or inspector shall thereupon make such order or orders as the public health shall require; and the board of health are hereby empowered to condemn and destroy all such articles.

SECT. 4. Whoever knowingly sells or exposes for sale any coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars which have been made in a tenement house used as a workshop, as specified in section one of this act, shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label, not less than two inches in length and one inch in width, upon which shall be legibly printed or written the name of the State and the city or town where said article or articles were made.

SECT. 5. No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said

* So in the original.

articles without a tag or label, as aforesaid, affixed thereto, nor shall sell or expose for sale any of said articles with a tag or label in any manner false or fraudulent, nor shall wilfully remove, alter, or destroy any such tag or label upon any of said articles when exposed for sale.

SECT. 6. The mayor shall appoint a person or a number of persons whose duty it shall be to see that the provisions of this law are enforced, provided that no salary or emolument shall accrue to the person or persons so appointed by or on behalf of the State or any cities of the State. The person or persons appointed under the provisions of this law for the purpose of its enforcement shall have powers equal to the factory inspector or deputy factory inspector, as provided in chapter four hundred and nine of the laws of eighteen hundred and eighty-six.

SECT. 7. The board of health of any city or town in this State where coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, are made, shall hereby grant permits to persons who have been found worthy upon inspection by the inspector or board of health, as in accordance with the provisions of this act.

SECT. 8. Any person or persons who shall manufacture or cause to be manufactured, or knowingly sell or exhibit for sale, any coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, purses, artificial flowers, or cigars, made wholly or in part in shops or factories who do not possess a permit, or whose shops or factories have been condemned by the person or persons appointed under this law to enforce its provisions, or any person or persons who shall violate any of the other provisions of this act, shall upon conviction be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, or to imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than six months, or both such fine and imprisonment.

SECT. 9. This act shall take effect immediately.

The two sections of the Factory Law are these (13 and 13, as printed): —

SECT. 13. No room or rooms, apartment or apartments, in any tenement or dwelling-house, shall be used for the manufacture of coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, excepting by the immediate members of the family living therein. No person, firm, or corporation shall hire or employ any person to work in any one room or rooms, apartment or apartments, in any tenement or dwelling-house, or building in the rear of a tenement or dwelling-house, at making in whole or in part any coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, fur, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, without first obtaining a written permit from the Factory Inspector, Assistant

Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, which permit may be revoked at any time the health of the community or of those employed therein may require it, and which permit shall not be granted until an inspection of such premises is made by the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, and the maximum number of persons allowed to be employed therein shall be stated in such permit. Such permit shall be framed and posted in a conspicuous place in the room or in one of the rooms to which it relates.

SECT. 13. Not less than two hundred and fifty cubic feet of air space shall be allowed for each person in any work-room where persons are employed during the hours between six o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening, and not less than four hundred cubic feet of air space shall be provided for each person in any work-room where persons are employed between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning. By a written permit the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, with the consent of the Factory Inspector, may allow persons to be employed in a room where there are less than four hundred cubic feet of air space for each person employed between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning, provided such room is lighted by electricity at all times during such hours while persons are employed therein. There shall be sufficient means of ventilation provided in each work-room of every manufacturing establishment, and the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, and Deputy Factory Inspectors, under the direction of the Factory Inspector, shall notify the owner, agent, or lessee, in writing, to provide or cause to be provided ample and proper means of ventilating such work-room, and shall prosecute such owner, agent, or lessee if such notification be not complied with within twenty days of the service of such notice.

III. THE CHICAGO LAW, ETC.

The Chicago City Ordinance is as follows: —

(MISCELLANEOUS ORDINANCES OF CHICAGO.)

SECTION 1909. That no person, being the owner, proprietor, lessee, manager, or superintendent of any store, factory, workshop, or other structure or place of employment where workmen and workwomen are employed for wages, or shall cause, permit, or allow the same or any portion or apartment of or any room in said store, factory, workshop, or other structure or place of employment, to be overcrowded or inadequate, faulty, or insufficient in respect of ventilation and cleanliness, and in every such building or apartment or room in any such building, where one or more persons are employed as aforesaid, at least five hundred cubic

feet of air space shall be allowed to each and every person employed therein, and the air changed or renewed by ventilation at least once in every twenty minutes during the hours of employment.

SECT. 2058. . . . Fine not exceeding $200 nor less than $10 for each offence.

For English legislation see Factory and Workshop Act of 1878 (41 and 42 Victoria, Chap. 16); Public Health Act 1875 (38 and 39 Victoria, Chap. 55); and 53 and 54 Victoria, Chaps. 34, 59, and 70; also the Factory and Workshop Act of 1891 (54 and 55 Victoria, Chap. 75) and the Public Health Act for London (54 and 55 Victoria, Chap. 76). Both the latter passed Aug. 5, 1891. An interesting piece of legislation is that of Victoria in Australia (41 Victoria, Chap. 16, § 68), which provides, among other things, (subsection 16) that the occupier of a factory or work-room, who has work done for the purposes of his factory or work-room elsewhere than in the same, must keep a list showing the name and address of, and the work done by, each of the workers. The inspector (and nobody else) must be allowed to see this list.

JOSEPH LEE.

BOSTON, October 6, 1892.

THE GREAT COAL COMBINATION AND THE READING LEASES.

BY C. LA RUE MUNSON, OF WILLIAMSPORT, PENN.

[Read Thursday, Sept. 1, 1892.]

In February, 1892, to the surprise of railway and financial circles, an organization was consummated by which the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, theretofore of but comparative strength, and confined within portions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, became one of the foremost railroad systems of the United States, entering the field of transportation with present facilities and opportunities for future growth of traffic unexcelled among the great carriers of the Eastern States.

The Reading Railroad, as it is commonly known, operated a main line between Philadelphia and Pottsville, with a northern extension to Williamsport, traversing the prosperous valleys of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers, and, with its various branches in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, forming one of the two railroad arteries so materially assisting in the commercial prosperity of Philadelphia and the eastern portion of Pennsylvania. On Feb. 11, 1892, this company became the lessee, for the term of 999 years, of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, extending from Jersey City, in New York Harbor, and from Perth Amboy, on the Arthur Kill, through the State of New Jersey into Pennsylvania, traversing the Lehigh and Wyoming Valleys, filled with their wealth of iron, coal and other great commercial products, and through the populous territory of Western New York to Buffalo, the gateway to the Great Lakes, through which pours so much of the traffic of the Western States; obtaining at the same time the great fleet of lake boats owned by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, forming direct connection with the West, and also obtaining by this lease the terminals of that company at Fairhaven, on Lake Ontario. On the following day the Port Reading Railroad Company, a corporation of New Jersey and harmonious in management with the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, leased, for a like term of 999 years, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, extending from Jersey City to Scranton, in Pennsylvania, and not only carrying the valuable coal and iron freights reached by its extensive rail-

ways, but through its eastern lines and branches covering a thickly settled portion of New Jersey, and daily pouring into the city of New York no small proportion of its active workers.

Thus the Reading system joins such great centres of distribution as New York, Philadelphia and Buffalo, with all the enormous population, and consequent volume of passenger and freight traffic reached by its lines and many branches between these points, while it also becomes the greatest coal-carrier in the world, and can convey no mean proportion of the products of the immense iron furnaces and mills of Pennsylvania, and, by means of its fleet of steamers on the lakes, of the great grain fields of the West. With its affiliations, particularly its control of the Poughkeepsie Bridge, it enters the markets of New England with unrivalled facilities; while, through its Southern connections, it becomes an active competitor for the traffic of that rapidly growing section.

While dull figures and dry statistics do not usually command willing auditors, the importance of the Reading organization can be best exhibited by some reference to such data. The Reading system now controls 5,583 miles of railroad; traverses a territory containing nearly ten millions of population; by means of 1,718 locomotives and 113,206 cars, annually carries forty millions of passengers, moves fifty millions of tons of freight, and earns about $57,000,000; while, with its affiliated companies, it has a capital and indebtedness of $511,000,000, and employs 83,960 wage-earners, among whom it annually distributes $37,000,000, directly supporting more than four hundred thousand people.*

These meagre statements convey some idea of the magnitude of

	Capital.	*Indebtedness.*
*P. & R. R.R. Co.	$40,105,361.78	$156,932,517.37
P. & R. Coal and Iron Co.	8,000,000.00	76,764,408.15
L. V. R.R. Co.	40,441,310.00	65,564,000.00
Lehigh Valley Coal Co.	650,000.00	500,000.00
C. R.R. of New Jersey	22,412,000.00	45,280,822.00
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co.	14,338,650.00	17,281,750.00
Lehigh & Wilkes Barre Coal Co.	9,212,500.00	12,527,222.40
	$135,159,821.78	$375,840,719.92

Summary of Reports for 1891.

	Gross Earnings.	*Passengers Carried.*	*Tons of Freight.*
P. & R. R.R. Co.	$23,111,109.71	18,828,070	21,796,917
L. V. R.R. Co.	18,910,260.71	5,734,288	15,829,714
C. R.R. of New Jersey	14,653,686.30	14,827,506	14,139,902
	$56,675,056.72	39,389,864	51,766,533

the system, and impress us with its importance as a factor in the future prosperity of the populous territory reached by its extensive lines. Viewed from every standpoint, the Reading system must be considered as more than a matter of local interest; even more than a carrier of freight and passengers within the most thickly settled portion of the United States; but as well one of the means by which the great wealth and importance of the nation is augmented, and her people bound together by ties of common interest and mutual advancement.

These are days of great aggregations of capital and Titanic financial and commercial combinations. That which may be accomplished by consolidations and associations of reciprocal interests cannot be obtained, in a like degree of efficiency, through individual efforts, however well they may be directed or skilfully conducted. This is the key-note of our national organization, and is the mainspring by which our Union of States has advanced to her present commanding position among the family of the nations.

Nowhere is the power of obtaining the greatest good for the greatest number, particularly in the commercial way, better shown than in the combination of railway interests, by which corporations, weak in themselves and alone, are enabled, through a consolidation under one head and management, to accomplish results beneficial to themselves and to the public at large,— results absolutely beyond their reach when, as individual operators, they were striving to effectuate the objects of their creation. Many have not forgotten the difficulties and impediments in traffic existing when the various railroads, now making up the famous systems of the Pennsylvania and of the New York Central Railroad Companies, were operated as individual and independent corporations. These two railroads have become so necessary, in their present form, to the shippers and travellers in the territories they traverse that their relegation to their anterior organizations would cause, not only great inconvenience and loss to their patrons as well as to the public at large, but would be such a retrogradation in the forward progress of our advanced civilization as to be considered a national calamity. Men like Thomas A. Scott and Cornelius Vanderbilt, so largely instrumental in the organization of those great systems, were benefactors of the American people, creating conditions not only valuable then, but, as experience has proven, even more beneficial than they could have ever hoped. American history can point to no one element in the story of her progress

more productive of national benefit than the consolidation of her railway interests. There has been no exception to the invariable rule that the combination, or, in other words, the strengthening of her railways, has resulted in a benefit to her people. Through such means, more than any other, has the great West become a still greater West. Millions of acres of productive soil have furnished homes to millions of people; and vast areas of nature's wealth have been distributed, not only in our land, but as well to the far-off foreigner, through the facilities offered by railroads consolidated from minor lines, individually unable to open those fields of magnificent production and mines and forests of untold wealth.

It is this knowledge of the certain results of consolidation, favorable as well to the owners of their railroads as to the citizens directly reached by their lines, that prompted the Reading leases, and brought into one great system, powerful among its competitors, the magnificent railroad now commanding our attention.

It is well known that this organization was chiefly effected by one man, Mr. McLeod, the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, who has thus created a system of greater magnitude and usefulness than has heretofore been the fortune of any one person in this country, if not in the world. In passing, it might be of interest to add that not only did he succeed in bringing into one system more than five thousand miles of railroad and combining five hundred millions of capital, but his negotiations were carried on with such tact and ability that the leases were accomplished facts before any knowledge of his undertaking had become known in the great financial centres of Wall Street and Third Street, so much interested in its outcome, or even to the ubiquitous reporter. In this respect, alone, the Reading leases may be considered as one of the greatest financial feats, in an age when gigantic monetary combinations are so frequent, and when every happening, commercial, political, or social, has a publicity through the press almost contemporaneous with its occurrence.

The Reading leases have attracted still more attention through their supposed effect upon the anthracite coal market. That article of domestic consumption enters so generally into the cost of living, and directly affects so many people, that an association, asserted to be able to regulate its production and cost must, necessarily, be a subject of general interest.

It will not be irrelevant to make some reference to the magnitude of the coal trade and its future probabilities. In 1890 (the latest attainable figures) the world produced nearly 500,000,000 tons of coal, of which Great Britain mined 181,000,000, and the United States 140,000,000.* In 1891 the United States produced 151,000,000 tons of coal, of which Pennsylvania mined 41,000,000 tons of anthracite and 36,000,000 tons of bituminous, or more than one-half of the entire output.†

While a small amount of anthracite coal is claimed for Colorado, it is so infinitesimal in proportion — being only 55,000 tons, or one-seventh of one per cent. of the whole production — that it makes no exception to the statement that the anthracite coal field is contained in parts of five counties of Pennsylvania, and, by a very careful geological survey, within an area of 488 square miles. This coal, first mined in the early part of this century, but in small quantities and by very crude methods, has developed into an enormous tonnage. Tables given below show the relative growth of the anthracite and bituminous coal trade, from which it will appear that during the past thirty years the consumption of the former has quintupled; while the tonnage of the latter is twenty

* The world's product was: —

	Tons.		*Tons.*
Great Britain,	181,614,288	Austria-Hungary,*	24,000,000
United States,	140,032,263	Russia,*	5,000,000
Germany,	87,590,457	Spain,*	1,000,000
France,	26,327,008	Nova Scotia,*	2,000,000
Belgium,	20,568,960	Other countries,*	10,000,000
Total,	498,129,976		

	Tons.		*Tons.*
†Pennsylvania { anthracite,	41,572,350	Tennessee,	2,750,000
†Pennsylvania { bituminous,	36,000,000	Wyoming,	2,250,000
Illinois,	13,000,000	Washington,	1,800,000
Ohio,	12,300,000	Indian Territory,	1,000,000
West Virginia,	6,200,000	New Mexico,	800,000
Alabama,	4,500,000	Arkansas,	400,000
Iowa,	4,000,000	Utah,	390,000
Missouri,	3,700,000	Texas,	350,000
Colorado,	3,600,000	Georgia,	225,000
Maryland,	3,420,000	Montana,	170,000
Indiana,	3,400,000	Dakotas,	150,000
Virginia,	3,009,000	California,	90,000
Kentucky,	2,879,082	Michigan,	90,000
Kansas,	2,750,000	Oregon,	80,000
Total (gross tons),	150,876,432		

* Estimated.

times greater than in 1860, the population of the country having only doubled in the same period. *

The soft, or bituminous, coal, being as effective for steam purposes as the anthracite, and much less expensive, has largely supplanted the hard coal for motive power and many other uses.† The latter, however, has rapidly grown in domestic consumption, until it has supplanted wood as a fuel in many remote and rural districts, where, until within a comparatively few years, its use had been quite unknown. This increase in the demand for anthracite coal has been brought about, in addition to the increase in population, by the decrease in the wood supply, by its better adaptation, through improved burners, to all domestic uses, and by the reduction in freight rates. Of the 41,000,000 tons marketed in 1891, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey consumed sixty per cent.; while the five cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Brooklyn and Boston burned one-fourth.

Large in consumption and low in price as has been this valuable deposit of nature, it is not to be forgotten that there are those now living who may see the field practically exhausted. Already more than 850,000,000 tons have been used, which, at the present tonnage and its natural increase, will reach at least 1,200,000,000 at the close of this century. A very careful computation of the available anthracite coal remaining unmined, made by a gentleman well able to express an opinion,‡ places the marketable deposit at less than 6,000,000,000 tons. This estimate, as he

*

	Anthracite.	*Bituminous.*	*Population.*
1850,	2,999,017	3,814,951	23,191,876
1860,	8,391,366	5,775,077	31,443,321
1870,	13,985,959	17,190,415	38,558,371
1880,	25,578,214	42,776,624	50,155,783
1890,	35,865,174	103,650,233	62,622,250
1891,	41,572,350	109,304,082	

† The Board of Trade of Scranton furnish statements of the cost of each fuel to do the same amount of work, namely: —

3,131 pounds bituminous coal,	$3.35
3,166 pounds coking bituminous,	3.37
3,178 pounds anthracite coal,	4.75

The following shows the growth in use of bituminous coal as a fuel in iron-making in the United States: —

	1881.	1891.
Tons iron made by bituminous coal and coke,	2,268,264	6,439,264
Tons iron made by anthracite coal and coke,	1,734,462	2,090,041
Tons iron made by charcoal,	638,838	646,200
	4,641,564	9,273,455

‡ Mr. Joseph S. Harris, President Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company.

states, is very liberal, and is, probably, the maximum, as he has allowed for future improvements in mining, lessening the waste, burning smaller sizes, etc. But, while there may be anthracite coal mined at the end of another century, it is certain that the larger number of the mines will have been worked out at a much earlier period, and present valuable fields very much sooner exhausted. It is the opinion of many well informed on the subject that the end of a period of fifty years, or seventy-five at the latest, will find the anthracite coal a thing of the past, and no longer a factor in the vital question of fuel,— a question so vital that, while it may not affect us, it will be a serious matter for generations not far distant.

The last census shows a capital of more than $161,000,000 invested in anthracite coal mining. This is certainly underestimated rather than overestimated, as four large mining companies, producing less than one-half the entire tonnage, alone have a capitalization, including indebtedness, of $140,000,000. In this connection it may be added that the cost of opening a mine, prepared to deliver merchantable anthracite, equals two dollars on each ton of its capacity, and that future openings, by reason of deeper mining and improved plants, must be still more expensive.

It is at once apparent, from these statements, that the successful miner must not only market his coal at a price beyond its cost of production, but must also get out of his mine its original cost and the expenditure for his plant before his coal is exhausted. Costly drifts and shafts and expensive power stations and breakers, without coal, would be of but little worth. For reasons which we will presently discuss, the anthracite operator of the past few years, unless he occupied a peculiarly profitable location, has been far from a realization of such results. As already stated, the capital invested is large, and the cost and difficulties of mining very great; while the net prices at which his coal has been sold were very low. The royalties, or rent or interest upon his coal deposit, his pay-roll, and all the miners' expenses are virtually fixed charges; while the prices, owing to the strife among the sales agents of the large mining companies, have been anything but uniform and stable.

A glance at the anthracite field will give us the situation. The largest operator is the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company, owning more than 100,000 acres of the territory, or one-third of the area, and at least one-half of the entire deposit. This

company employs 28,000 men, operates sixty-two collieries, and last year shipped nearly 8,000,000 tons, or one-fifth of the entire product. The Lehigh Valley Coal Company, with fifty-five collieries, directly, and through its lessees, marketed more than 4,500,000 tons; while the Lehigh & Wilkes Barre Coal Company and the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, operating twenty-three collieries, mined nearly 4,000,000 tons. These companies, closely allied with the railroads forming the Reading system, produced last year 16,000,000 tons of anthracite coal, or forty per cent. of the entire out-put.* The remainder of the coal was mined by individual operators and by companies harmonious in management with the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the Pennsylvania, and other railroad companies. Annexed tables, showing the anthracite coal tonnage for 1891 of the various anthracite carriers, will give the situation still more accurately.†

These statements show that, although the railroads now forming the Reading system carried nearly fifty-five per cent. of the entire tonnage, this organization is far from being in absolute control of the product. Nor is it fair to assume that those railroads, before the present leases, were competitors either in transporting or marketing the coal, as it is apparent from the statements that their chief tonnage came from their allied mining companies, and the remainder from individual shippers, whose freights were governed by the location of their collieries on the different railroads; while

	Collieries.	*Tons mined, 1891.*
* P. & R. Coal & Iron Company, ...	62	7,962,716
Lehigh Valley Coal Company,*	55	4,633,095
Lehigh & Wilkes Barre Coal Company, ...	13	2,572,287
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, ...	10	1,262,838
	140	16,430,956

Carrier.	*Tons.*	*Totals.*
† Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, ...	9,082,016	
Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, ...	7,863,547	
Central Railroad of New Jersey, ...	5,857,968	22,803,531
Pennsylvania Railway Company (with Penn. Coal Co.),	6,686,928	
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company,	6,198,049	
Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, ...	3,939,918	
New York, Lake Erie & Western Railway Company, .	1,204,271	
New York, Ontario & Western Railroad Company, .	695,771	
Delaware, S. & S. Railway, ...	43,882	18,768,819
		41,572,350

* Including its lessees.

the competition in prices came from the mining companies and the individual shippers, who alone control the anthracite market and sales.

Many attempts had been made, prior to the present situation, to maintain uniform prices and to secure a production commensurate with the needs of the market. But such efforts had invariably proved ineffectual until, at last, it became a race between the sales agents to market all the coal possible, and at prices to insure a customer. The result was a large overproduction and low prices, with consequent loss to the miner. Anthracite coal, being chiefly used for domestic purposes, and increasing or decreasing in demand as the weather requires greater or less quantities, has of necessity peculiar limitations upon its consumption. During a short period of the year the market requires about four millions of tons per month. This out-put, continued without restriction throughout the year, would furnish a supply exceeding the demand by about ten millions of tons ; and, as the operators must be prepared in capacity to supply the maximum requirement,— the coal being delivered directly from the breakers to the cars,— the absence of mutual restriction would and did result in overstocking the market, thereby reducing the net prices to the miner below a fair profit, and in many instances causing positive losses. From this overproduction arose the opportunity of the middleman, who, by a judicious investment, was enabled to reap a handsome reward, reducing on the one hand the return to the producer, while on the other the consumer was unable to obtain little, if any, benefit from what would otherwise have been his gain. For a like reason there arose an inequality in prices at various points until in 1891, as it appears, the operator netted at tide-water — the chief market of over-supply and consequent competition — from fifteen to eighteen cents per ton less than at interior points nearer the source of production ; or, in other words, the consumer at places nearer the mines paid more for his coal than those living at a much greater distance. It is a well-known fact that the householders of Pennsylvania have of late been obliged to pay more for their coal than those living over a hundred miles more remote from the mines.

While it is impossible to obtain any accurate figures covering the whole field from which the profit upon anthracite coal to the miner may be ascertained, it has been stated on high authority that during 1891 it netted at tide-water from $1.57 to $1.74 per

ton, and at interior points from $1.75 to $1.92. Deducting from these figures, taking the average of $1.65 and $1.84 for each market, the cost of mining and delivering at breaker, amounting without royalties or interest on cost of the coal land to at least $1.50 to $1.70 per ton, there would be an apparent average profit of, say, 14 1-2 cents per ton, producing upon the tonnage of 1891 about $6,000,000, or somewhat less than four per cent. upon the capital invested in the business. When we consider that during that year more than 40,000,000 tons of this wealth of the earth have been reduced to ashes, we can readily see that there has been a decided "squandering of the heritage." While the figures of profits we have given may be below those earned in favored localities, it is certain that they are much higher than were realized at many collieries; and we believe they represent a fair valuation of the profits of anthracite coal mining in 1891.

The operators have not been alone in failing to obtain their just deserts, for their miners have been very far from remuneratively employed. There are, according to statistics furnished by Pennsylvania's Department of Internal Affairs, about 110,000 employees in the anthracite mines. This means that half a million people are directly dependent for their living upon some uniform rate of wages and regular employment. In point of fact, owing to the want of some systematic operation of the mines to produce the requirements of the markets, the employment of the miners has been very irregular and desultory. If such a system in mining could be secured, there would be at least some regularity in their employment rather than spasmodic periods of activity followed by long weeks of idleness. Illustrative of the situation of the workman, a comparison of the reports of two of the largest mining companies, for 1891, will be in point. In one, six collieries were idle during the entire year, while the remainder were in operation but 147 days; the other enjoying the proportionate advantage of an average of 213 working days. Thus, omitting Sundays and holidays, the 5,500 miners in one company were idle 158 days; and the 28,000 in the other, 92 days. It is not difficult to imagine the distress caused these workmen and their families by these long periods of waiting for work, or to account for the many series of labor troubles in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.

The management of the Reading system and its affiliated coal companies, having such a large share in the production and trans-

portation of this coal, has announced its intention to do its part in bringing order out of this chaos, and of placing the business upon a basis productive of much better results, both to the operators and to their miners, as well as to its own shareholders. It proposes to accomplish those ends by these means : —

First. Reducing the cost of production by the adoption of improved methods in mining, consolidation of management and consequent lessening of the cost of that expense, the cessation of work at the expensive and more constant operation of the profitable collieries, and by bringing to an end former methods, resulting, through unwise management, in so much waste.

Second. Proper restriction in production, and consequent operation of the mines in harmony with the requirements of the markets.

Third. Bringing the coal to market more cheaply, through a unification of systems and management, whereby the traffic can be handled with more economy and regularity and without the requirement of so large a transportation equipment.

Fourth. Marketing more cheaply, eliminating not only rival and costly sales agents, but as well unnecessary middlemen, and thereby bringing the coal more directly to the consumer and at prices more fair and equalized than under former conditions.

It is relevant, in passing, to note that commercial affairs are yearly drawing the producer and consumer into closer relations. That such a result is advantageous to both is self-evident. The elimination of the jobber, or middleman, must, of necessity, serve to give the producer a higher profit and enable the consumer to purchase at lower prices. An examination of the anthracite coal trade shows that the dealer realizes about a dollar per ton over cost, from which is to be deducted only his expense of unloading, storing and delivering. But this cost is reduced by the gain he enjoys between the gross ton of 2,240 pounds, at which he buys, and the net ton of 2,000 pounds, at which he sells. While a portion of this difference may be lost in screening, there remains fully a profit of eight per cent. through this mode of measuring. In many places the dealer's charge per ton exceeds the dollar over its cost, reaching in some places, as was testified in an official examination, nearly double that amount. The present organization, working on its announced lines, will seek to equalize these conditions, leaving the market in its proper situation, practically, between the producer and the consumer, with, if need be, a fair profit to the dealer.

While much has been said of late upon the effect of the Reading leases as tending to advance the cost of anthracite coal, and as actually already causing such an increase, it must be remembered that the prices are still lower than those of five years ago, and that the late advance is one usually made at the season of the year it was adopted. With proper regard for the rights of the operator, who is certainly entitled to the cost of production and a fair return upon his invested capital, not to mention some remuneration for his rapidly diminishing property, it cannot be considered unjust if there should be some advance in prices, necessary to bring about such results, even if the profits of certain dealers are thereby reduced, or even if the consumer pays prices for his coal ruling under a management more systematic and equitable than has prevailed during the past five years.

It is absurd to assume that the effect of the Reading leases will be to extort unreasonable prices for anthracite coal by creating a monopoly driving out all competition; for it must not be forgotten that nearly 20,000,000 tons, or about one-half the market, are annually mined by interests far from identical with the Reading, and certainly in no manner within its control, while, yearly, 100,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, raised from mines and areas containing deposits of incalculable tonnage, stand at the door of the market, prepared to meet anthracite prices raised beyond fair returns to its operators. In short, there are limitations upon the price of anthracite coal absolutely beyond the reach of any combination or consolidation,—a limitation, through the bituminous coal, always preventing a monopoly in fuel, and which, indeed, may in time, with improved methods in its use, largely supplant its elder, but now weaker rival.

As is to be expected, the Reading leases have not only been followed by some adverse criticism, but legal proceedings have been instituted to set them aside. Three stockholders' bills have been filed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while the Attorneys-General of those States have instituted chancery proceedings to secure their annulment.

Of the actions instituted by stockholders, but one is of interest at this time, as it alone, of all the cases at issue, has reached any stage of decision. This cause, known as the Gummere case, arose on a bill filed in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, by three small stockholders in the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, averring, in addition to the allegation of the unconstitutionality of the

leases, and that they should be declared void as contrary to public policy, that their effect was prejudicial to their interests as such stockholders. The plaintiffs' application for a preliminary injunction and for a receiver was met by affidavits of the defendants, answering the latter allegation and establishing very clearly much larger returns to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company than under former conditions — its stockholders, under the lease to the Reading, being entitled to annual dividends of seven per cent. upon their holdings, an excess of two per cent. upon its declared earnings of the preceding five years, and one-half of all the surplus earnings of the lessee upon the leasehold — by showing very large gains in traffic since the operation of the lease, receipts from eastbound general merchandise alone being greater for four months of 1892, and since the lease, than in all of the preceding year, while the coal freights had returned in that period, as against the corresponding months of 1891, an increase of $250,000. The motion, having been argued at length by distinguished lawyers, was denied by the court, in an able opinion, and became the first decision in these famous controversies. The other stockholders' bills, proceeding upon similar grounds, are still undetermined; but, so far as the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company is concerned, it may be taken as adjudicated, unless a different state of facts can be established upon final hearing, that the interests of its stockholders have not been injuriously affected by the Reading lease.

The bill of the Attorney-General of New Jersey, while alleging the creation of a monopoly in anthracite coal repugnant to public policy and detrimental to the interests of its citizens, seems to be chiefly based upon an averment of a violation of one of its statutes, prohibiting the leasing of a railroad of that State to a foreign corporation without the consent of its legislature. The defendants' answer, as appears from the record and affidavits, avers that the lessee of the Central Railroad of New Jersey is the Port Reading Railroad Company, not a foreign corporation, but created under the laws of New Jersey and operating a railroad wholly within its limits. It is also denied most strenuously that this company, lessee, is owned or controlled by the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, although there may be harmony in the management of those companies.

Beyond question, the pending case concerning the Reading leases of the greatest importance is that commenced by the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, in the name of the Commonwealth,

wherein it is alleged that those leases are repugnant to Section 4 of Article XVII. of its Constitution, which is in this language : —

No railroad, canal, or other corporation, or the lessees, purchasers, or managers of any railroad or canal corporation, shall consolidate the stock, property, or franchises of, or in any way control, any other railroad or canal corporation owning or having under its control a parallel or competing line.

The bill avers that the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Lehigh and Susquehanna division of the Central Railroad of New Jersey are parallel for the entire length of that division, a distance of 105 miles, and that the Lehigh Valley and the Philadelphia & Reading Railroads are in the same situation over a route of 25 miles, while all the railroads now making up the Reading system have heretofore been competitors for freight and passenger traffic.

The answers to those allegations are these : —

First. It is denied that the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company has acquired the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroad, or that it owns or controls the Port Reading Railroad Company, the lessee of that road, through its lessor, the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

Second. That any competition between the Lehigh Valley and the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroads was in traffic originating in Pennsylvania and terminating beyond its limits, or *vice versa*, in respect whereunto the Constitution and laws of that State are inoperative.

Third. It is averred that the lease of the Lehigh Valley to the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, consummated on Feb. 11, 1892, could not be affected by a subsequent lease of the Central Railroad of New Jersey (lessee of the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroad) to the Port Reading Railroad Company.

Fourth. The defendants deny that the Philadelphia & Reading and the Lehigh Valley Railroads are parallel and competing lines within the spirit and meaning of the Constitution,— the former, being a railroad between Philadelphia and Williamsport, neither of which points are reached by the latter, which is a line extending from Buffalo to tide-water in New York Harbor, where the Reading Railroad had no connection, except over other and independent lines ; in short, that the main railroads of the two systems do not approach one another at any point, and that competition between them was wholly impractical and did not exist.

While there is a short branch of each of these railroads parallel for a distance of a few miles, it is averred, and apparently clearly shown by a number of affidavits, that they were only feeders to their respective main lines, and were not competitors for traffic. The statements accompanying these affidavits, bear out this position by showing that the entire gross receipts of the Lehigh Valley Company for transportation, other than coal, between the points on these parallel lines aggregated but $8,000 in 1891, the larger volume of general merchandise traffic being shipped to those places from Philadelphia, which is not reached by the lines of that company. In coal freights the figures showing even apparent competition are still proportionately smaller. Out of 200 collieries delivering tonnage to these railroads, but one is reached by both lines; and that mined but 60,000 tons in 1891, out of nearly 17,000,000 tons carried in that year by both roads.* This infinitesimal proportionate amount to the total tonnage, it is urged, does not bring these great railroads within the ban of the Constitution, as parallel and competing lines.

Fifth. It is further averred, in defence, that the lease between these railroads of Pennsylvania was expressly authorized by special and general acts of its General Assembly, thereby constituting a part of their charters, and, being anterior to the adoption of the present Constitution, even if repugnant to its language, their validity cannot be affected thereby, because it was not the intention or effect of the Constitution to impair or affect the operation of charters previously granted; or, if it was, that the Constitution is itself void, as being, in such case, in violation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States forbidding that any State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts, the charter of a corporation being held to be a contract with the State.

Sixth. And, lastly, that the Constitution of Pennsylvania can have no effect upon the leases, so far as they relate to railroads of the lessors in New York and New Jersey, being subject-matter over which the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has neither jurisdiction nor authority, as defined by the Constitution of the United

	Anthracite coal tonnage, 1891.	*From Mt. Carmel Colliery.*
* Philadelphia & Reading, ...	9,082,016	36,283
Lehigh Valley, ...	7,863,547	23,320
	16,945,563	59,603

States, providing that the sovereign power of each State shall be confined to, and not extend beyond, its territorial limits.

In the Gummere case, to which we have referred, the court, in refusing the plaintiffs' motion for a receiver and a preliminary injunction, said, touching the question of the violation of the Constitution: —

But the question that overshadows all others is whether the Lehigh Valley and Philadelphia & Reading Railroads are "parallel and competing," within the constitutional prohibition; and here let it be noticed that the question is not whether the Lehigh Valley and the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroads are "parallel and competing." The validity of the lease in controversy must be determined by the status as it existed when the lease was made. At that time the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company had not acquired the lease of the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroad, and its subsequent acquisition was *res inter alios acta* as to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, and could not affect the validity of the lease previously made by the latter company. Are, then, the Lehigh Valley and the Philadelphia & Reading Railroads so clearly and undisputably "parallel or competing," within the prohibition of the Constitution, that we ought at once to come to a conclusion here on that point? We think not. The question whether any two given railroads fall within the constitutional prohibition is a mixed question of law and of fact. In its legal aspect, the question is of the first impression. To the lay mind, accustomed to look to the letter only, it may be simple enough, but *qui hæret in letera hæret in cortice;* and to the lawyer, trained to regard the spirit as well as the letter of enactments, the question assumed larger proportions. It is safe to say that it will be set at rest only after the most exhaustive argument and the most deliberate and careful consideration by our Supreme Court; and then comes the question of fact, which it would simply be reckless to decline.

As to what will be the final outcome of these cases, it would be both premature and improper to now consider; but it is certain that the proper interpretation of the Constitution will be reached, and by reasoning forever determining the questions at issue.

The well-known cases of the South Penn and Beech Creek Railroads, sought to be leased to affiliated lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and prevented through the intervention of the Attorney-General, in the name of the Commonwealth, by the direction of its Executive, are hardly in point with the present issues, as there it was practically admitted — at least, it was not denied — that the railroads sought to be leased were parallel and competing lines

with the real lessor. In addition, the decisions were made upon motions for preliminary injunctions, without their full merits being reached, and concerning leases not executed in fact, and relating to roads merely projected, but partly finished and not in operation. Nor was there raised, in those cases, many of the issues of law and fact now to be adjudicated.

We have already seen how beneficial, if permitted to stand, will be the present arrangement to the anthracite operator and his employees; but it remains to view the question from a still broader standpoint. The great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, rich in her vast internal wealth, is entitled to receive a fair return for her product of anthracite coal, heretofore so largely wasted in the haste of rival companies to find a market, irrespective of profit or the laws of supply and demand, while her manufacturers should not be required to buy this coal, lying at their doors, at higher prices than their competitors, whose remoteness from this fuel is more than compensated by their proximity to the larger markets of consumption.

But greater still — and this is of incalculable benefit to all her citizens — is the certain assurance, through the present Reading leases, of an organization so strong within itself as always to be an equal in traffic competition with Pennsylvania's other famous railroad system, thus giving her citizens the permanent advantage, without fear of monopoly, of two magnificent lines of rail, over which her vast wealth may find an outlet in constant competition with the products of her sister States,— lines of road competitive, aggressive, enterprising, and with managements second to none in the world, leading to a greater Pennsylvania, a greater Reading, and a still greater Commonwealth, advancing her to the position she so well deserves in the Union of the States, the Keystone, binding in one symmetrical arch the financial and commercial prosperity of our country.

JOURNAL

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXVIII.

OCTOBER, 1891

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1891

PAPERS ON LABOR ORGANIZATION, HYDROPHOBIA, POPULATION, ETC.

PUBLISHED FOR THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK

1891

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

Journal of Social Science. Containing the Transactions of the American Association. Nos. I.–V., 8vo, paper, each $1.50. Nos. VI.–XXVIII., each $1.00.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWO.—Current Record of the Association. I. Immigration—Frederick Kapp. II. The American Crisis—James A. Garfield. III. The Mode of Procedure in Cases of Contested Elections—Henry L. Dawes. IV. The Public Charities of the State of New York—Theodore W. Dwight. V. The Public Libraries of the United States—Ainsworth R. Spofford. VI. The Science of Transportation—Joseph D. Potts. VII. Vaccination—A Report presented by Francis Bacon, William A. Hammond, and David F. Lincoln. VIII. The Election of Presidents—Charles Francis Adams, Jr. IX. Life Insurance—Edward Homans. X. The Administration of Criminal Justice—George C. Barrett. XI. Health Laws and their Administration—Elisha Harris. XII. An International Code—D. D. Field. XIII. General Intelligence. XIV. Constitution. XV. List of New Members. XVI. List of Works relating to Social Science published in 1869.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER THREE.—I. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns—F. L. Olmsted. II. Art Education in America—C. C. Perkins. III. Civilization and Health—Frederick Rapp. IV. American System of Patents—S. A. Duncan. V. Nature and Sphere of Police Power—T. D. Woolsey. VI. Legislation and Social Science—E. L. Godkin. VII. Representation of Minorities—D. D. Field. VIII. Relations of Business Men to National Legislation—H. A. Hill. IX. Houses in the Country for Working Men—G. B. Forbes. X. Minority Representation in Europe—Thomas Hare. XI. Application of Mr. Hare's System of Voting to the Nomination of Overseers of Harvard College—W. R. Ware. XII. General Intelligence. 1. Home. 2. Foreign.

NUMBERS FOUR out of print, as well as NUMBERS ONE, THREE, EIGHT, and NINE.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FIVE.—I. Municipal Government—Dorman B. Eaton. II. Higher Education of Women—T. W. Higginson. III. Restoration of the Currency—Joseph S. Ropes. IV. Some Results of the Census—Francis A. Walker. V. Public Vaccination—F. P. Foster. VI. The International—David A. Wasson. VII. Legislation in Relation to Pharmacy—G. F. H. Markoe. VIII. General Intelligence.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SIX.—General Meeting at New York. I. Opening Address—George William Curtis. II. The Work of Social Science in the United States—F. B. Sanborn. III. Financial Administration—G. Bradford. IV. Conference of the Boards of Public Charities. V. Pauperism in the City of New York. VI. The Farmers' Movement in the Western States—Willard C. Flagg. VII. Ocean Lanes for Steamship Navigation—Prof. H. Peirce. VIII. Rational Principles of Taxation—David A. Wells. IX. American Railroad Gardner G. Hubbard. X. Reformation of Prisoners—Z. R. Brockway. XI. The Deaf-mute College at Washington—Edward M. Gallaudet. XII. The Protection of Animals—George T. Angell. XIII. American Finance—Prof. W. G. Sumner.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER SEVEN.—I. Private Property upon the Sea—Rev. Dr. Woolsey. II. Conference of Boards of Health. III. (School Hygiene)—Drs. D. F. Lincoln and A. L. Carroll. IV. Tent Hospitals—Dr. J. F. Jenkins. V. National, State, and Sectarian Universities—A. D. White and Dr. McCosh. VI. Free Lending Libraries—W. W. Greenough. VII. The Young Men's Christian Association—Cephas Brainard. VIII. Ocean Lanes. IX. Prison Reform in Europe and America—Dr. Wines and F. B. Sanborn. X. Social Science Record. XI. Conference of Boards of Charities.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER EIGHT.—I. The Production and Distribution of Wealth—David A. Wells. II. The Work of Social Science—F. B. Sanborn. III. Progress in International Law—J. L. Angell. IV. The Experiment of Civil Service Reform—Dorman B. Eaton. V. The Treatment of the Guilty—W. G. Eliot. VI. Health in Schools—Drs. D. F. Lincoln, J. J. Putnam, etc. VII. Financial Policy of England and the United States—G. Bradford. VIII. Limitations of Judicial Power—Emory Washburn. IX. Life Insurance for the Poor—Elizur Wright and Sheppard Homans. X. Legal Education—W. G. Hammond. XI. The Detroit Meeting.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER NINE.—I. Social Science in Theory and Practice—F. B. Sanborn. II. The Silver Question—W. Stanley Jevons. III. The Silver Question—B. F. Nourse. IV. Savings Bank—John P. Townsend. V. Local Taxation—William Minot, Jr. VI. Industrial and Social Aspects of the Southern Question—W. L. Trenholm. VII. Education in the Southern States—T. M. Logan. VIII. The Navigation Laws of Great Britain and the United States—Hamilton A. Hill. IX. The Tariff Question—Horace White. X. Custom House Forms—Henry D. Hyde. XI. State and Municipal Government—[illegible]. XII. Municipal Economy—Daniel L. Harris.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-THREE. — Business and Debates of 1887. Address of the President: Problems of the Census — Carroll D. Wright. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Profit Sharing as a Method of Remunerating Labor — F. J. Kingsbury. 3. Alfred Dolge and his Experiments — A. Dolge and Ernest Richard. 4. Profit Sharing Historically and Theoretically Considered — G. M. Powell. 5. Labor Organizations — J. G. Brooks. 6. Woman and the Temperance Question — Frances E. Willard. II. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The American System of Trial by Jury — D. H. Chamberlain. 2. The Law's Uncertainty — Thomas Thatcher. 3. The Incorrigible — Francis Wayland. 4. Private Corporations and the State — H. A. James. 5. Social Science in the Law of Moses — H. L. Wayland.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR. — Introductory. Committee on Provident Institutions. Constitution, List of Members, etc. I. Papers of the Health Department: 1. Relation of the Physician to the Community, and of the Community to the Physician — Grace Peckham, M.D. 2. The Function of the Lungs — D. Emery Holman, M.D. 3. Certain Injurious Influences of City Life and their Removal — Walter B. Platt, M.D. 4. The Criminal Type — William Noyes, M.D. 5. Immigration and Nervous Diseases — C. L. Dana, M.D., with Discussion. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. The Opportunities of America — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Address — T. W. Higginson. 3. Pedagogy in American Colleges — Professor E. J. James. 4. The Education of Women — Arthur Gilman.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE. — General Meeting of 1888. President Adams on Higher Education. I. The Growth and Purposes of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor — Address of the President, Carroll D. Wright. II. Papers and Debates of the Department of Health: 1. Address on Requirements for a Medical Degree — Dr. H. H. Curtis. 2. How Far can Legislation aid in Maintaining a Proper Standard of Medical Education? — W. A. Purrington. 3. The Value of a Liberal Education as Antecedent to the Study of Medicine — Sylvester F. Scovel. Remarks of Dr. Grace Peckham. 4. Unsanitary Conditions in Country Homes — Dr. Lucy M. Hall. 5. The Working-women of New York: Their Health and Occupations — Elizabeth Stow Brown, M.D. 6. The Struggle for Subsistence: How can it be most Efficiently Aided? — Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D. III. Papers of the Finance and Social Economy Departments: 1. Address of the Chairman — F. B. Sanborn. 2. Savings Banks in the United States — John P. Townsend. 3. Co-operative Building Associations. Report of the Special Committee. 4. Report on Savings Banks and Building Associations of Illinois — Professor J. W. Jenks. 5. Co-operative Building and Loan Associations in the State of New York — Seymour Dexter, Esq. 6. The Dangerous Side of Building Associations — Mr. C. F. Southard. 7. Notes on Provident Institutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas — Professor Robert T. Hill. 8. Life Insurance — Report of the Committee. Hebrew Provident Institutions. 9. The Early History of School Savings Banks in the United States — J. H. Thiry.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SIX. — General Meeting of 1889. Report of J. P. Townsend, Secretary. Constitution, List of Members and Publications, etc. I. Papers of the Jurisprudence Department: 1. The Economic Law of Monopoly — President E. B. Andrews. 2. Constitutional Guarantees of the Right of Property — George Hoadly. 3. Education as a Cure for Crime — S. T. Dutton. 4. Immigration and Crime — W. M. F. Round. 5. The Dead Hand — Dr. H. L. Wayland. II. Papers of the Education Department: 1. Industrial Training of the Defective Classes. Discussion by President Gallaudet, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Bryce, F. B. Sanborn, Miss Alice Cooke, etc. 2. Popular Fallacies concerning the Insane — Dr. Pliny Earle. III. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Report on Co-operative Building and Loan Associations. 2. Socialism in England — Percival Chubb.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-SEVEN. — General Meeting of 1890. Constitution, List of Members, etc. The Third Estate of the South — Rev. A. D. Mayo. The Single Tax Debate — Remarks by Samuel B. Clarke, Professor Thomas Davidson, W. L. Garrison, Professor John B. Clark, President E. B. Andrews, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Louis F. Post, Edward Atkinson, Henry George, Professor W. T. Harris, and James R. Carret.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT. — General Meeting of 1891. M. Levasseur on Malthus. The Late Rufus King. President White's Addresses. I. Papers of the Social Economy Department: 1. Labor Organizations — S. M. Hotchkiss. 2. Trades-unions — S. Gompers. 3. Trades-unions and Wages — Prof. J. W. Jenks. 4. Shoemaking in Connecticut — F. J. Kingsbury. 5. Arbitration, Voluntary and Compulsory — Mrs. C. R. Lowell. 6. Compulsory Arbitration — Seymour Dexter. 7. Social Side of Unions — George Gunton. 8. Trades-unions and Apprentices — E. W. Bemis. II. Miscellaneous Papers: 1. Treatment of Hydrophobia — Dr. Paul Gibier. 2. The Silver Question — J. D. Warner. 3. Reform of the Civil Service — W. D. Foulke.

In separate pamphlets: The Single Tax Debate, 1890, and Discussion of Labor Organizations, 1891.

Sold by DAMRELL & UPHAM, Boston; G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York; and by

F. B. SANBORN, Secretary,

CONCORD, MASS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
General Meeting of 1891	v–vii
Malthus and the Law of Population. M. Levasseur	ix–xxiv
Rufus King. F. B. Sanborn	xxv–xxviii
Addresses of President White	1–20, 23–27
I. Labor Organization Papers	28–125
1. Practical Suggestions on Trades-unions. S. M. Hotchkiss	28–39
2. Aims, Methods, and Achievements of Trades-unions. S. Gomiers	40–47
3. Trades-unions and Wages. Prof. Jenks	48–58
4. Shoemaking in Connecticut. F. J. Kingsbury	59–65
5. Voluntary Arbitration. Mrs. C. R. Lowell	66–85
6. Compulsory Arbitration. S. Dexter	86–100
7. Social Influence of Labor Organizations. George Gunton	101–107
8. Trades-unions and Apprentices. Prof. E. W. Bemis	108–123
9. Letter from Col. R. T. Auchmuty	124–125
II. Miscellaneous Papers	127–174
1. The Treatment of Hydrophobia. Dr. Paul Gibier	127–136
2. The Silver Question. J. DeWitt Warner	137–154
3. Civil Service Reform. W. D. Foulke	155–174
Constitution, List of Officers, Members, and Department Committees	175–188

JOURNAL

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXIX.

AUGUST, 1892

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1890 AND 1891

PART II.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

PUBLISHED FOR THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK

1892

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Announcement of the General Meeting of 1892	v–vii
The Late Dr. Pliny Earle	ix–xiv
List of Dr. Earle's Publications	xiv–xvi
Miscellaneous Papers of 1890, 1891, etc.	1–61
1. Summer Camps for Boys. Dr. W. T. Talbot	1–8
2. The New York City Health Department. Dr. Cyrus Edson	9–24
3. The Tenement House and the Children. Dr. Mary E. Herrick	25–33
4. Progress of the Financial Credit of the United States, 1861–90. Joseph T. Brown	34–48
5. Aids in the Study of Social Science. F. B. Sanborn	49–56
6. The Care of Epileptics. Dr. Frederic Peterson	57–61
Constitution, List of Officers, etc., of the American Social Science Association (Aug. 15, 1892)	63–72
Publications of the Association	73–76

The attention of members of the Association is called to the announcement of Addresses, Reports, Papers, etc., to be presented at the General Meeting of 1892 at Saratoga, as printed on pages v–vii.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY
NOV 10 1892
LIBRARY

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

CONTAINING THE

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

NUMBER XXX.

OCTOBER, 1892.

SARATOGA PAPERS OF 1892.

PAPERS ON ART EDUCATION, AMERICAN CHILDHOOD, THE SWEATING SYSTEM, ETC.

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.
DAMRELL & UPHAM, BOSTON, AND G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.
1892.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	iv
Address of the President, H. L. Wayland, D.D.	v–xviii
General Meeting of 1892	xix–xxi
Members	xxi
Officers	xxi
Obituary Notices	xxiii–xxxiv
Sir Daniel Wilson. Mrs. C. H. Dall	xxiii–xxix
George William Curtis. F. B. Sanborn	xxx–xxxiv
Publications of the American Social Science Association	xxxv–xxxix
I. Miscellaneous Papers	1–55
Social Science in the Nineteenth Century. F. B. Sanborn	1–11
Art Education in American Life. Miss M. B. Martin	12–18
Examination and Commitment of the Public Insane in New York City. Dr. M. D. Field	19–28
County Jails as Reformatory Institutions. E. B. Merrill	29–43
American Childhood from a Medical Standpoint. Dr. H. L. Taylor	44–55
II. Papers of the Social Economy Department	57–147
The Sweating System in Europe and America	57–147
1. Sweating in Germany. Rev. J. G. Brooks	59–64
2. The "Sweating System" in the United Kingdom. D. F. Schloss	65–72
3. Conditions of the Labor of Women and Children in New York. Dr. Anna S. Daniel	73–85
4. The Sweating System in Massachusetts. H. G. Wadlin	86–102
5. Tenement House Workers in Boston. W. L. Hicks	103–104
6. The Sweating System in General. Joseph Lee	105–137
7. Legislation — Appendix. Joseph Lee	138–146
The Great Coal Combination and the Reading Leases. C. I. Monson	147–163

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY